Travel and Comment

By James D. Phelan

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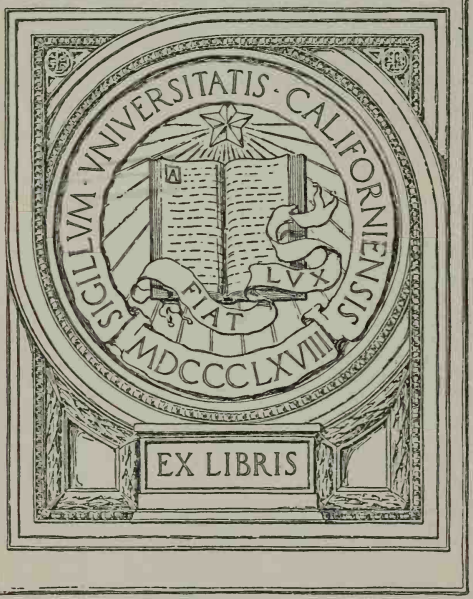

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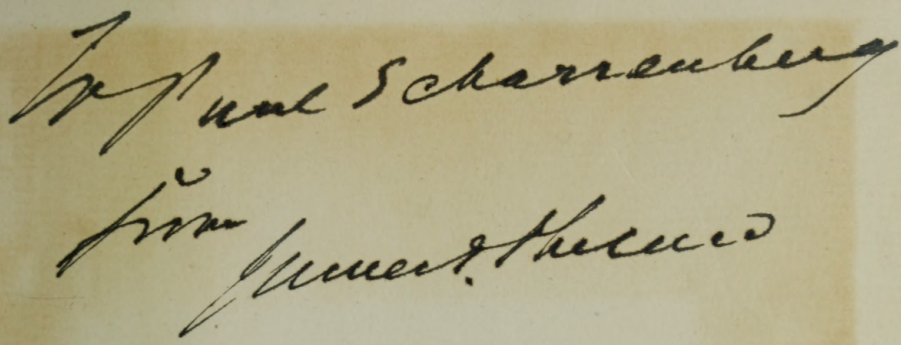

TRAVEL AND COMMENT

THE LAOCOÖN, 1184 B. C.
(Vatican museum, Rome)
It suggests Western Civilization, 1922 A. D.

Travel and Comment

By

JAMES D. PHELAN

Former United States Senator
of California

With Illustrations from Photographs

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TO MY SISTER

Farewell, happy fields,
Where joy forever dwells; Hail, horrors hail,
Infernal world.

—MILTON

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Introduction

THE DAY before I left San Francisco for a tour of the world, which I leisurely accomplished in eleven months, I was asked to write occasionally for the press, and, hence, the informality and familiar style of these letters, which, for the most part, were addressed to Californians. Those from the Far East and India were contributed to the Sunday edition of the San Francisco Examiner; while the rest of the correspondence, from the Near East and European countries, is new, and here added to make the tour complete.

I put down impressions as I received them, and now I have been asked to gather them in book form. There can be no objection to this, if they help to solve, even in the remotest degree, the multifarious world questions which perplex us.

On account of the greatly increased facilities of travel, one's first impression, as he sails the seas, is that the terrestrial sphere is dwindling in size, and is, after all, a very small place. But the world moves serenely through the great spaces, obedient to inexorable law, while its surface, constantly in conflict with man-made law, is eruptive and disorderly.

Looking down the line, it will be found that the Japanese, casting off their feudal bonds, chrysalis-like, aspire to be butterflies in the garden of Caucasian culture. "Butterfly," better than Chrysanthemum, might, in a social

sense, symbolize modern Japan. But for us the Japanese question has a menacing aspect when regarded politically and militarily. Like a porcupine, it is bristling with points. The Pacific Coast is suffering from "silent penetration." Hawaii is showing the peril to which democracy is exposed when the constituent parts are not homogeneous.

The Filipinos, standing for democratic principles, are holding us to our promise to set them free. China is chaotic, yet coherent; she asks to be let alone. India rebels because she has grown weary of unsympathetic alien aggression. Egypt is strong for nationality. The Arabs demand Palestine. The Turks flout the allies; and "quite awry goes all decorum." Indeed, throughout all Mohammedan countries, there is a thinly disguised alignment of forces—racial and religious—against Western Civilization.

Western Civilization, itself, has become apologetic. Italy is bankrupt and insurgent. France, stricken, is struggling to get on her feet. Russian fanaticism is appalled at the failure of communistic enterprises, and is revising reconstruction plans. The German Republic, divided and demoralized, is sailing an unfamiliar and tempestuous sea. Ireland seeks an ideal republic, instanter, when she seems to have a real one within her grasp. The British Empire is compromising with her crew in order to keep afloat. Discordant elements are fast leading to imperial disintegration.

The question which naturally arises is, What is wrong with the world? I came back, having arrived almost unconsciously at the conclusion that, until nations respect one anothers' rights, there shall be no peace. In dealing

with mankind, trespass and force are centuries old, but the new liberal uprising scorns the pretensions of prescription, defies force and stands for justice and freedom.

As I went from one country to another, without exception, I observed that a great change was taking place. The late war has unleashed thought. It has promoted patriotism and given confidence to the masses. And, foremost in this chapter of changing times, it is apparent that one of its chief inspirations, as in the days of the French Revolution, can be found in the teachings and example of America. The people everywhere, some more violently than others, are asserting their independence, and governments are toppling, just as pigmies scatter when a giant moves.

The vision of the United States, as an example of successful democracy, is always before the submerged millions abroad. America's part in the war, expounding its idealistic purpose and contributing, at the same time, so gallantly to the fighting, had enhanced her prestige, but her subsequent course of action—or non-action—has, of course, greatly weakened her popularity. But the fact remains that she is a strong nation, abounding in rich resources, worthy of emulation, and, perhaps, capable of generosity.

It was an American President, Woodrow Wilson, it is still remembered, who gave self-determination of nations its place on the program of world reorganization. The Wilsonian preachments captured the imaginations of men and women in unexpected places.

Abraham Lincoln stood in every land for human freedom, but there is now practically no actual slavery. He said, "No man is good enough to own another man." Wilson ennunciated a doctrine in his "Fourteen Points"

which, logically, flowed from Lincoln's premises, that no nation is good enough to hold another nation. The emancipation of peoples and the independence of nations are, at the present time, the living and crucial questions. In the ferment there may be confusion, but in the ultimate settlement, I believe, there will be stability and security. In the pregnant words of Woodrow Wilson (who failed, however, in 1920, to carry with him the country for the enforcement of his precepts), "Freedom is the condition of peace." There can be no gainsaying the irresistible force of freedom when it stirs the hearts and minds of dependent and despairing people.

In his own language, before the Plenary Council, on July 25, 1919, Woodrow Wilson said:

> "We are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish.
>
> "We are to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were aggressions of great powers upon small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms.
>
> "And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace."

As I see it now, reactionaries must settle their accounts with the proletariat. In this fateful moment, Amercian principles are bound to prevail, otherwise the universal unrest will provoke unending warfare. But, who shall point the way?

In a discussion on the League of Nations in the Senate of

the United States on March 18, 1920, I was amazed by a motion made by the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Lodge) to strike out of an amendment, which had been offered to the Pact, the words "the principle of self-determination." I had long believed this principle, which was then disputed, to be the very inspiration of the American Republic, and to have been woven into its fabric by statesmen and soldiers. It is consoling, on an occasion like that, to cling to a principle as one's standard or measuring stick, and not be tempted to turn aside for the sake of mere expediency. I believe it is the practical application of that principle which will save the world politically from the rule of force, by giving all nations the opportunity for self-expression and self-development. What the world needs, in President Wilson's epitome of his Fourteen Points, is "A reign of law, with the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind." The organization of that public opinion is now in process of formation.

These letters will show, in passing, how, three years after the Treaty of Versailles, the nations are either deeply discontented, or still at war, and that many are economically exhausted, with no authority anywhere to counsel prudence, dispense justice or right wrongs.

But, it is no intention of mine, nor has it been, in writing these letters, to engage in controversy. It is a mere accident that I discovered, from the universal discontent, that there was a common cause for the World's troubles. But I also found that the same protest, the same persistent demand for democracy, more freedom and more power—were everywhere whispered in the bazaars or shouted from the

housetops. I occasionally make comment, it is true, but these letters are only what they profess to be—a personal narrative of a holiday journey in many lands, with, occasionally, a day in court.

TRAVEL AND COMMENT

ARTICLE I

The Hawaiian Situation

THE CONDITIONS in the Territory of Hawaii require Federal attention. The "Gentleman's Agreement" (that mongrel thing—neither treaty nor law), which was intended to save California without offending Japan, left Hawaii unprotected. There was no restriction put upon immigration there.

Hawaii was abandoned to the Japanese by the blundering policy of our government. How far the sugar planters may be responsible for this is another question. They wanted labor. They spent millions in immigration enterprises, seeking relief from Portugal, the Azores, the Philippines and Porto Rico. Some immigrants proved of no value; others fled to the continental United States, where the European workers were welcome. Finally the Japanese, beginning in 1885, were permitted to come, and now, by immigration and birth, compose about one-half the entire population of this American Territory. The Chinese are barred by the Exclusion Law.

Briefly, the question of Hawaii is: Of what value are the

Islands to the United States, and to what extent do the Japanese depreciate their value?

Hawaii is an indispensable base for American naval operations. The menace in the Pacific is from Japan, ambitious and aggressive. It is inconsistent with our national interests to harbor in the Islands a people (now composing one-half their entire population), who owe loyalty and military service to Japan and cannot be Americanized.

In the second place, the production of wealth, in American control, is highly desirable for the encouragement of our commerce. The surplus products of our fields and industries find in Hawaii a natural market. Should control pass to the Japanese, the military and commercial situation would reach a critical stage. Therefore, as a precaution, if not a cure, the American planters should be protected against absorption by Japanese. Out of Forty-five Thousand agricultural workers required, there is now a labor shortage of Fourteen Thousand Five Hundred. The planters cannot fill the gap. The Japanese, who struck when they were getting Three Dollars per day—wages and bonus—plus house, garden, medical attendance, free water and free firewood, led the planters to fear that the unexpected move was designed to embarrass them to the point of surrender, because at about the same time, Japanese, or persons representing them, according to Walter F. Dillingham, official representative of the Territory, made offers to purchase plantations outright, and so end all trouble.

In California, farmers, under such pressure, sold their lands. The Hawaiian planters decided to fight. Now, it appears to me that this is not solely a planters' fight. It is a fight for an American controlled Hawaii. It is a com-

paratively easy matter for these aliens to capture the soil if the Islanders are indifferent. Aliens may acquire land, privately owned, in the territories of the United States, but not public lands—so the door is open, as usual, and that is the only "open door" policy that is pleasing to Japan.

The planters ask that the restrictions of the immigration laws be relaxed in favor of Hawaii for five years, in order to fill the labor deficiency from sources other than Japan. If they cannot get help, they are dependent on Japanese immigration. Field labor there repels and does not hold the second generation of Japanese. Many experiments have been tried to induce the agricultural settlement of the Islands by, for instance, the Portugese; but, so long as they are free to leave, they desert the Islands.

A permanent solution of the problem might be found in such a system, inaugurated and maintained by the Territory, as "the Land Settlement Board" plan in California—borrowed, in turn, from Australia—by putting desirable settlers on the soil under attractive conditions of land purchase and long payments; or by fixing wages at a basic rate, as was done in Hawaii during the war, and a bonus, determined by the market price of sugar. This would take time, but I believe it would serve the best interests of the Territory to tax itself and vigorously bring it about.

The Japanese, with all the influence and power of their government, are making a firm stand. They have a close association which imposes taxes on its members (One Million Dollars was raised during the strike) and their Consul directs every move. It is Japan governing a Japanese province under the Stars and Stripes. They have

extensive propaganda. Although the Japanese are the deadliest enemies to American labor, on account of their skill, industry, low standards and general adaptability, white labor leaders in the Islands took Japanese money to go to Washington to save Hawaii for the Japanese!

There is little doubt but that the planters, frightened at the aggressive stand taken by the Japanese, want to introduce Chinese as a quick and available remedy. They say very frankly that they cannot hold out. They have no other labor. As the Japanese made unreasonable demands, which were rejected, and as the strike was finally broken, and then only on the motion of a special commissioner from Japan, the planters justly fear their existence depends on the will of Japan.

Can America tolerate such a condition in its own Territory of Hawaii, necessary for the national defense, and splendidly contributing to its commerce and wealth?

Our Government moves slowly. With vigor, a land settlement by desirable immigrants might be essayed, and a Federal commission might be appointed, with a man like Dr. Elwood Mead of the California Land Settlement Board at its head, to put such settlers on the land, after purchasing the plantations. But Dr. Mead is sorely needed in California. Congress has full jurisdiction over territories, and can change their form of government. Inevitably, in a few years, Hawaii will lose its American institutions of its own motion, in order to avoid the political control of native-born Japanese.

Why not now take up the two questions in a big way? Why temporize? The expedient proposed to gain time, namely, to admit a limited number of Chinese for five

years, might give our Government a chance to turn around, like the strategic move of a general confronted with stubborn facts and an agile enemy. It would be distinctly distasteful to the Japanese, because they cannot meet Chinese competition at home or abroad. The Chinese wants are few, their industry well known, their skill in agriculture unquestioned. They would be able to replace the Japanese, or economically destroy them, as the *Vedalia Cardinalis* devoured the pests in the California orchards.

Furthermore, the Chinese make a good and acceptable blend with the native Hawaiian population. They add something to the strain which results advantageously, unlike the Eurasian combination. The Chinese have no powerful and self-seeking government behind them, and they can be required to leave at the expiration of their time, should our Government, in its wisdom, decide to reorganize Hawaii.

Until the pressure of population fills up the waste spaces of continental United States, and we secure for ourselves a homogeneous and indissoluble union of minds and hearts by restricted immigration and the domestic development of patriotic purposes, I fear the people of this country will be slow—too slow—to grasp with prophetic vision the imminence of danger and the need of action. The vice of the United States is living only from day to day. Since it is our habit to move slowly, because there is no leadership under the Congressional system, let us enquire in what order we should proceed. If we had a parliamentary system, the Premier would propose a measure, and press it with the weight of the government to a speedy conclusion. It would win, or he would lose and be compelled

at once to appeal to the country on that issue. We dawdle; we palaver with diplomatists who take easy advantage of the national habit of putting things off, which invariably increases difficulties and multiplies problems.

Look at unhappy California. The Federal Government refused to recognize the Japanese menace until to-day. Now there are one hundred thousand reasons urged by Japan why we should do nothing. The rights of resident Japanese—one hundred thousand in one State and three hundred and fifty thousand in the United States—unassimilable, indigestible, creating economic disturbance and labor distress, are pressing for consideration. They steal in between the meshes of the law and breed with alarming rapidity.

Let us assume that all are agreed on a rigorous exclusion policy. We still have the problem. We must scatter the Japanese in California to save the rural population. I see but two ways of doing it: By firmly denying them naturalization and land ownership (which we do now and should not relax) and so cause them to seek other fields; and by effecting at the same time land settlement on a generous scale under State auspices, so as to secure a desirable population, American, or clearly, potentially American, which will be loyal to the country in peace and war.

The Japanese born on the soil are American citizens by the constitution. As a matter of fact, Japan claims and holds them to a strict allegiance to herself. In the Hawaiian trouble last year, the first opportunity for observation, the native Japanese, who professed American predilections, took orders from Japan through the "Imperium in Imperio" presided over by the Consular service. A Japanese

born on the soil, before he attains seventeen years of age, can theoretically renounce his Japanese citizenship, provided Japan consents. That is the "joker!" Japan, rarely asked, never consents.

If the native Japanese were not ineradicably Japanese, without power biologically to assimilate so as to maintain the standards of our civilization, we might tolerate a temporary evil. "The Melting Pot," however, rebels. It is not temporary. We cannot, side by side, have two contending races without perpetuating a race problem, and of this have we not had enough? The Civil War is a monument to non-assimilability. For this reason the constitution should be amended so that not all persons, born on the soil, but only those granted the precious privilege by Congress, should become citizens. It is treating too lightly a great inheritance. Shall not at least one patriotic society—like the American Legion, which has already expressed itself on the Japanese question—take the leadership of this movement? Prohibition and Woman's Suffrage organizations have shown the way to constitutional reform.

Because they are born in the sugar plantations of Hawaii, a brood of Japanese, formidable in numbers, are now free to come to continental United States, where they can own and lease land and lay deep the foundation of an alien colony, already a menace. So, too, the equally large brood, generating day by day in the Golden State, swarming it and overwhelming white civilization, brings in a yellow tide. These are two alarming breeding grounds, endangering the whole country.

Unless we check the fecundity of the Japanese in America—Continental and Insular—the danger will grow daily;

but that we cannot do. More brides are coming in than before the alleged restrictions imposed by Japan. Japan apparently encourages in every way, as by the extension of the period of time within which a returned subject is exposed to military duty at home, the building up of its colonial empire by births. Steamship rates are so made for the round trip on their own ships that the expense of a bride is no greater than by the former photograph marriage. Our "Gentleman's Agreement" permits the laborer to go to Japan and return with a wife. Our national policy of preserving our population and our institutions should be sternly declared, and to effect it a new leadership should demand these changes:

(1) The termination of the Treaty of 1911. (Six months' notice is required.)

(2) The passage of an Exclusion Law like the one now applying to Chinese, which would end the so-called "Gentleman's Agreement."

(3) An amendment to the Federal constitution, which now unhappily gives citizenship to *all* persons born on the soil.

(4) Universal disarmament; or, as an alternative, the maintenance of the American Navy at its highest efficiency.

Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, October 18, 1921.

ARTICLE II

California at the Disarmament Conference

WHEN it was proposed to call a disarmament conference there was a general manifestation of approval among the nations. Then it became complicated by including in the agenda other questions not strictly related. The policy of Japan calls for expansion, an outlet for her subjects; and the other powers desire to limit such expansion, or require concomitantly trade privileges in the far East, such as "the open door." America is in a position to speak, because, asserting the Monroe Doctrine, she has never attempted to deny in South America equal trade opprotunities to foreign commerce. A Monroe Doctrine is being asserted by Japan in the far East by our precedent. This could only mean the preservation of the territorial integrity of Asia. But Japan seeks the acquisition of territory and would herself be barred from aggression by such a doctrine, which she mistakenly invokes as one parallel to our own.

At the conference Japan and the United States will face each other. Japan will urge the need of territorial expan-

sion. She will seek to confirm her shadowy title to the German islands in the Pacific, but she will be doubtless made to realize that they afford an inadequate field for expansion, and that such a claim can only be construed as a step towards the military domination of the Pacific. Japan is the only country that protested the acquisition of Hawaii by the United States. Since then she has poured her people into the Islands, permitted by the foolish and futile "Gentleman's Agreement" and the complacent attitude of our terrorized or hypnotized representatives in Washington. She has now one-half of the whole population of the Territory of Hawaii, the vital military outpost of the United States in the Pacific.

The national conscience has been at last stirred by the invasion of the Japanese (because the Pacific Coast is fast becoming another Hawaii); and by the aggresive character of the Japanese Government itself. In this matter California is the point of contact for the United States.

Is it possible that California may be sacrificed in a panic-stricken desire to preserve world peace? The Taft treaty of 1911, against the loud and indignant protest of Theodore Roosevelt, took from us the right to exclude without Japan's consent. Japan, exceptional among all nations, was given the privilege of controlling immigration into the United States from Japan. When she certifies a prohibited laborer, we cannot go behind it. When the State attempts the registration of these aliens and taxes them a fee that would cover the cost, the courts find that the same treaty gives them the same exemptions from taxes reserved for and enjoyed by American citizens.

Now, Japan is demanding full equality for her subjects.

She has a case in the Federal Supreme Court, contending that they are entitled to citizenship under our existing naturalization laws. She has smuggled into citizenship, by the sheep-like docility—even stupidity—of our officials, a large number of her subjects who were enlisted as mess boys in the Navy during the war, perverting the statute that facilitated the naturilzation only of those who otherwise were eligible. The Treasury Department has just ruled that such "citizens" may draw pay from the Navy and serve as members of the crew of "The Mayflower," the Preisdent's Yacht, where Japanese are employed. The Attorney General hesitates for some reason to bring the case into the Supreme Court. But vain is our subserviency. It must titillate the oriental mind to "roars of laughter" to see the numerous dividends which its cunning and "sensitiveness" pay.

California, within her undisputed jurisdiction as a State, forbids by law the ownership or leasing of agricultural lands by persons ineligible to citizenship. That is one reason why the Japanese are seeking naturalization. California would, I believe, be willing to extend this law to all aliens, which would sound better, but, so far as the Japanese are concerned, would mean nothing. The Japanese could still take the land by their children.

But here is the rub. Bureaucratic Washington has been whispering that the President and the Senate—the treaty-making power—can set aside laws of Congress and the statutes of individual States in matters wholly within state jurisdiction, as immigration, naturalization and land laws, when they become "international." When does a domestic question ever become "international?" Is it

not plain that these questions of citizenship, land, marriage, immigration, naturalization are our own and belong to no other country? Shall the Senate and House of Representatives abdicate in favor of the President and two-thirds of the Senate? A treaty is "the supreme law of the land" (just as an act of Congress is) when it deals with the subjects that are properly international—as diplomatic immunity, security of life and property of foreigners, of travel and of commerce and navigation. But Congress can abrogate a treaty even if properly made and for desirable ends.

But what recourse has a State against the President and two-thirds of the Senate unless it can influence Federal legislation? Claiming to win a diplomatic success and conserve "good relations," otherwise "peace," the danger is in the failure of the people not immediately affected to understand the serious nature of the question or be indifferent about it. That was the situation several times in the history of our relations with Japan, and quite recently revealed in the Morris-Shidehara negotiations.

The Japanese insistence on "racial equality" when analyzed is fraught with peril, while the average man, out of ignorance, sees in it little to disturb him; and so the necessity at this time of a full and free discussion.

Let us recall that in March, 1919, the Peace Conference was in session in Paris. The Japanese, led by Baron Makino, asked that a resolution granting racial equality be passed, and news came that most, if not all, the nations would favor it. What was objectionable in it to Italy, France and Great Britain? Only the colonies of Great Britain were strongly opposed to it.

Permit me to say that, after consultation by wire with several Western Senators, I cabled Secretary Lansing, then in Paris, on March 23d, 1919, as follows:

> "Any declaration in constitution of League of Nations on 'race equality and just treatment' may be construed to give jurisdiction to League over immigration, naturalization, elective franchise, land ownership and intermarriage, and should be avoided. An affirmative declaration that these are domestic questions should be made in consonance with established American policy. Believe Western Senators and others will oppose any loophole by which Orientals will possess such equality with white race in the United States. It is a vital question of self-preservation."

What happened at the conference was very difficult to ascertain. Mr. Lansing wrote me guardedly in reply to a letter of inquiry, in November, 1919, as follows:

> "I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 21, 1919, in which you ask to be advised as to the action of the American Commissioners at the Paris Conference with respect to the Japanese demand for 'racial equality.' In reply, I hasten to assure you that the Japanese demand for a 'racial equality' clause in the covenant of the League of Nations was never brought up for discussion or vote at any plenary session of the Peace Conference, although it did form the test of a statement (enclosed herewith) made by Baron Makino at the plenary session of April 28, 1919. It was, however, introduced in a meeting of the League of Nations Commission on February 13, 1919. On that day President Wilson was not in attendance at the meeting and, at the request of the representatives of several powers, other than the United States, the clause was withdrawn by the Japanese delegate without a formal vote being taken upon it. At a

> subsequent meeting of this Commission on April 11, 1919, the Japanese delegate proposed a general statement as to 'National Equality' to be embodied in the preamble of the covenant, which was rejected after the taking of a formal vote. This vote showed that certain powers were in favor of the amendment to the preamble, but no count was taken of the negative votes. The United States did not vote for the amendment, and President Wilson, who was presiding at the meeting, ruled that in as much as the amendment had not received unanimous support, it had been rejected. This was the last attempt made by the Japanese representatives in Paris to obtain formal recognition of either 'racial' or 'national equality.' "

This contribution to the history of the Conference shows how a minority of nations defeated the Japanese demand, which was intended to put their nationals on a parity with all other nationals, notwithstanding racial and economic differences which make them everywhere undesirable immigrants in a white man's country. It would mean yellow domination on account of their numbers, skill in agriculture, lower standards of living and higher fecundity. It would be the death knell of American homogeneity. It would present another race problem more serious than that which provoked the Civil War.

But Baron Makino would not admit defeat. On April 28, 1919 he made a statement at the plenary session of the Peace Conference in which he said:

> "When the draft was reported without the insertion of our amendment I find the privilege of expressing our whole-hearted sympathy and readiness to contribute our utmost to any and every attempt to found and secure an enduring peace of the world. At the same time, I

made an observation that we would again submit our proposal for consideration."

"I feel it my duty," he added by way of emphasis, "to declare clearly on this occasion that the Japanese Government and people find poignant regret at the failure of the Commission to approve of their just demand. . . . They will continue in their insistence for the adoption of this principle by the League in the future."

This demand for equality, which means "the rising tide of color" to overwhelm the white man in his own home, is foremost in the mind of the Japanese as they come to the Conference. They secretly claim the right for Japanese Nationals to go to any land, and believe (like the German autocrat, who has taught them in war and peace) in the "survival of the fittest"—that is, the man in the economic struggle who stands least in civilization and in ennobling ideals of family life and free institutions.

They would conquer America without striking a blow, and that is their conception of peace.

I began by saying that California is the battle-ground where the assault will first be made. It cannot be kept out of the Conference. Its position should be understood. It is simply the absolute exclusion of Oriental labor; and as to the Japanese who are here the declaration made by the Legislature of California in 1921 meets every just demand from the point of view of our national welfare, which should not be compromised: "For Japanese legally entitled to residence in California, fair treatment, protection in property rights legally acquired, and the privilege of engaging in any business desired except such as may be now or hereafter denied by law to all aliens, or to aliens

ineligible to citizenship; and provided, particularly, they may not hereafter buy or lease agricultural lands."

California must reject any attempt to give citizenship or land-owning rights to the Japanese now in the United States, because their extraordinary birth-rate (three to one against the whites) will give them preponderance in a few generations. This makes the Japanese colony in California a source of insidious danger and the Japanese question one of commanding importance.

At Sea *en route* to Japan, October 22, 1922

ARTICLE III

First Impressions of Japan

It is a matter of genuine American pride that out of San Francisco such excellent ships run to the Orient. The Pacific Mail operates the United States Shipping Board's steamers. My ship was "The Hoosier State," Captain Ryland Drennan, a native of Santa Cruz, on the bridge, and Chief Engineer M. J. Stack, a native of San Francisco, at the throttle.

The company was congenial. Music, sports, fancy dress and masked balls made the voyage a holiday, and the ship a sea-side resort. Fair weather always prevailed, and after we left Honolulu, on the last ten days' lap to Yokahama, the temperature of the ocean was frequently eighty degrees.

But it seems impossible to wholly escape politics. At the masquerade a high Manila official caused much merriment by appearing as a beggar, displaying upon his Republican breast the legend, "Blind, Deaf, Dumb, Married, Children, Democrat," and I, as Chairman, had to award him a prize for conveying a perfect conception of what he pretended

to be. In the distribution of "loaves and fishes" he had proved this because had he not, be it remembered, received a lucrative office?

Having arrived at Yokohama, when we came to the offing, ten newspaper representatives from the Japanese press sought me for an expression of opinion on the American-Japanese relations. They were in all respects as keen as our own reporters, and were accompanied by photographers. I could not escape; and although going to what I believed to be an unfriendly land, on account of my opposition to Japanese immigration, in a private capacity, and desiring to efface myself in order that my investigations might be unembarrassed by publicity, I had to yield. They were courteous and clever as they quizzed me and grinned.

I had been warned to be wary and hints of personal peril were whispered *sotto voce* by my fellow passengers. I did not believe, from my knowledge of the Japanese at home—and, indeed, my experience—that they ever used violence as a weapon of either persuasion or resentment, and I decided to pay them the best compliment I could by telling them the truth without fear. It was something of a shock, but it got the right reaction. One vernacular paper, however, referred bitterly in glaring headlines to my "Anti-Japanism;" and another, the Nichi-Nichi (Tokyo), Oct. 29, blared in unison, "The great enemy of Japanese arrives and opens his mouth hatefully."

They showed an intimate knowledge of Congressional bills, and asked what became of a constitutional amendment introduced by me in the Senate, to prevent the children of persons ineligible to citizenship from becoming citizens. I told them it died as all bills died with the last

Congress, and I was not sure that anyone had reintroduced it. They questioned its justice, but in reporting the interview they mistakenly made it apply to all aliens. This was the only serious error in taking down an off-hand conversation, which was doing very well.

I told them that I could understand their idea to expand; that their population was being continually congested with accretions of seven hundred thousand a year; but, as a Californian, particularly, I knew that their influx in mass to my State was not only disastrous but fatal to the interests of the native population; that the Japanese farmer could, and did, crowd off the soil the American, whose standards of living and labor were superior, the product of our Western civilization, which we were determined to preserve; that the Chinese could under-live and under-sell the Japanese, and, for the same economic reason, Japan rightfully will not permit mass nor any labor immigration of Chinese; that the Yamato race has been preserved in its purity by preventing Chinese and other infiltrations, which course was pursuant to the advise of the great biologist and economist, Herbert Spencer, sought by Japan; that California passed the anti-alien land law to stop the sale of its soil to Orientals because our farmers, more individualistic than the Japanese, who act in groups and under the direction of their own consuls, have been tempted to sell at high prices and abandon our rural districts for other States or for residence in our congested cities; and that were it not for immigration restrictions and the land law California would become a Japanese colony in twenty years; and, finally, that, pursuant to the policy of expansion, the Japanese should go elsewhere.

Then they asked: "Where and how?" This brought up in their minds really what I believe to be the policy of their government. Finding themselves blocked in the Pacific, and warned against colonizing the Western Hemisphere, they seek an outlet in nearby territory and want the Powers to acquiesce in their Asiatic aggressions. They have their eyes on all Manchuria, Western Siberia and North Saghalien, and put forward cunningly their California and Australian grievances as a cloak for their real intentions. They know the Australians and Californians, speaking for their respective countries, the British Empire and the United States, will not submit supinely to their own destruction. For this reason I believe they will, at the conference in Washington, urge consideration on these lines for toleration in Asia. They do not want the United States to fortify the Philippines and Guam, not because they fear, as they allege, attack from the United States, but to give themselves a freer hand in Asia. Their covetous eyes are also fixed on China, not for the purpose of expansion, because China is over-populated, but for economic control. In fact, I am of the opinion that emigration is a secondary purpose in all their negotiations. Their far-flung line of nationals may bring wealth to the home country, sadly in need of financial reinforcement, but their greater want is to employ and support their industries. commerce and shipping. Their great industrial establishments need a market, and, at the same time, these establishments, if operating, give work to the people, thus taking up the slackness, which is a chronic condition in the Japan of to-day.

But to return. The "Japan Advertiser" gave me a front-

page story the day after my arrival, and so did the "Tokio Times" and the "Yokohama Bayoki" and "Tokio Ichi-Ichi," accompanied with portraits. They also gave considerable space to interview and comment. The headlines, as I have indicated, left no doubt in the minds of their readers as to my hostility.

I did not know what the fruits of such frankness might be. The hotel servants showed no sign. I went to the barber shop in the basement of the hotel and found four Japanese "wielders of the razor," none engaged, and immediately I selected one. I did not fail, however, to observe that the others had their attention called to me immediately on my entry, while one began to compare and display my picture in the local vernacular paper. During this ordeal I was serenely aware, however, that my particular barber had no knowledge of my identity, and I joked with them on their discovery as I went out.

In the afternoon I attended the races, where the Emperor had a favorite horse entered. The foreign colony was well represented. Yokahama is a city of Five Hundred Thousand and the buildings, devoted to foreign corporations, such as banks and insurance companies, are architectural and imposing. But the city is made of low, wooden structures, gaudy with signs; small shops, duplicating wares everywhere, and occasionally movie theatres, some with American screens explained by Japanese spielers.

At night I attended a native theatre. Three Hundred Japanese men and women had sat there all day to witness an historical play not unlike the Chinese productions with which we are familiar. There was the powerful shogun and the fierce men-at-arms in a mock battle, unreal and bom-

bastic. During the entr'acte one could hear the carpenters nailing the scenery together. The audience, good-naturedly, amused itself during this proceeding by cat-calls and imitations of barking dogs.

To reach Kamakura and see the great Buddha made of bronze and fifty feet high, whose benignant face is universally known, one passes by motor through about fifteen miles of the "Italy of Japan." Many go by jinrickisha, a man-propelled wheel-vehicle. The runners between the shafts often cover forty miles a day and show remarkable endurance. Along the road the rice fields predominate, and the harvest is now in progress. Men and women standing knee-deep in water and slime in primitive style, reap the grain, working from dawn till dark. It is worth while, Japan thinks, with rice at sixteen cents gold a pound! However, only the owners of the little farms do this now, because the farm workers demand shorter hours, and, for them, extraordinary wages.

I traveled with a guide (an American gentleman) and an interpreter (a Japanese) who informed me that two and a half to three yen (equivalent to $1.25 to $1.50 gold) a day is the ordinary wages paid for about nine hours work, the laborer finding himself. The price of the simplest commodities now makes living very high, and there is much complaint that prices, after a sharp fall, are beginning to soar again. There is about forty per cent of unemployment, and the big industrial concerns are paying bonuses equivalent to six months' pay, demanded by the men when dismissed. In fact, my information, gleaned from business men, is that Japan is on the eve of a second crisis. The army and the navy take half the budget.

Ozaki, the peace party leader, stated in a speech October 28th that Seven Hundred and Eighty Million yen (a yen is about fifty cents) is provided this year for armaments, of which the naval appropriation amounts to about Five Hundred Million yen. He added that Japan has already spent Six Hundred Million yen on her Siberian campaign. This, he said, Japan could not afford, and will be compelled finally to support disarmament. It has been pointed out that the United States bought Alaska and the Virgin Islands, and paid Mexico, Spain and France, for California, the Philippines and Louisiana, respectively, in other generations. It is argued that Japan should save her money and the lives of her subjects by negotiating a purchase of needed territory. But, Ozaki added, "The shipbuilders, admirals and politicians for profit keep Japan militaristic." He also said: "The more ships Japan builds the weaker Japan becomes in her naval strength when compared with that of America."

In other words, America can continue to build, if needs be, without exhausting her resources, which Japan is fast doing. If America builds, the very pace will put Japan out of the running. If the limitation of armaments, or a world-settlement of territorial covetousness, does not come out of the conference, Japan is bankrupt. She fears in her pride that, if she gives up her naval strength, she will relapse into a second-class power, which is doubtless true. A story told by Tom Ochiltree, onetime member of Congress, and editor of the "Texas Bugle" illustrates the point. He was traveling with a rich coterie in London, among them James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the "New York Herald" and some noble lords, when Bennett guided them

into the cable office and dictated five thousand words for transmission to New York descriptive of a scene they had witnessed in the House of Commons. Tom ostentatiously said, "Repeat that to the 'Texas Bugle.'" Commenting on it afterwards, he observed: "It bust the 'Bugle,' but it set me up with them dukes!"

I find the Japanese cheerful and courteous. They appear to much greater advantage in their own country than they do in California, which is not unreasonable to expect. Only the peasant farmer goes to America, and his manners are rude among strangers whom he suspects of unfriendliness. The better class of Japanese are urbane, proud, and, to all appearances, kindly and considerate. I traveled for six hours yesterday in a second-class coach (the best running), from Yokahama to Nikko. My party were the only Caucasians in a crowded car with seats ranged along the side. There was an exhibition of simple manners and good behavior which confirms the popular impression of all travelers.

To-day is the Emperor's birthday, and with crowds of pilgrims, I visited the Nikko temples and ascended the Sacred Mountain Nantaisan, nine thousand feet elevation, passing in my ascent, raging gorges fed by the eternal snows melting into Lake Chiuzenji. It was a merry holiday throng—men, women and children—no drunkenness, no disorder. It impressed me most favorably, and I could see the potentialities of the Japanese more vividly because of their training and intelligence. If they plan to accomplish their purpose, it will require all our wits to thwart them. Where their intentions are not inconsistent with our own welfare, we can well afford to co-operate with them in pro-

moting the peace of the world. It would be a pity to destroy a people who have shown so much capacity when touched by civilization. They cannot be refused admission to the "family of nations." They have won a "place in the sun," and we will have to count with them. But we cannot take them into our family—that is the distinction. We can treat them as an outside power, but we cannot incorporate them in our body-politic for reasons which affect the purity of the races and the perpetuity of our institutions.

Nikko, Japan, October 31, 1921.

ARTICLE IV

Reception at Tokio; Social Life and Political Discussion.

It was hard to leave Nikko for the Capital. It is said by the French, "Do not die until you see Carcasonne," a sentiment with which I agree, for the walled southern city haunts you with its medieval splendor. But the Japanese have a saying, "Do not use the word 'splendor' until you have seen Nikko;" and there you are!

There is no conflict, however. One is the work of man, and the other nature; and nature has wrought mightily in shaping and framing this splendid spot where man has given it an added touch by setting up his temples in the Groves of Crytomaria.

Having been requested to write an occasional letter, I trust that when I avoid the statistical and trite statements of the guide books I do not disappoint. There is so much of such information available that it would seem idle to repeat or supplement it. I think a personal narrative would, at any rate, be different from most correspondence,

and interest the reader who always has a love for the human side of things—almost cannibalistic.

In a great park, not far from the Emperor's palace, in Tokio, the United States owns its own Embassy building. It is comfortable and unpretentious. One afternoon Ambassador Warren opened his doors for a reception where tea was served with much informality, and many members of the corps and the colony exchanged views with the visitors from home.

The Ambassador told me that his relations with Premier Hara had been very cordial, and he feared no friction so long as such a capable and enlightened statesman, wedded to democratic principles, was at the helm.

I had officially met Colonel Warren in Washington during the War, where he was second only to General Crowder in interpreting and enforcing the draft law, of which it is generally believed he was the author; and, once before, I ran across this quiet and useful American in 1910 when at The Hague he argued for six days the American case before the Fisheries Arbitration. He was Elihu Root's colleague on that occasion, and they made a satisfactory settlement. Mr. Root once observed to me, however, that "in arbitrations, you never get a decision—you get a compromise." Such is our representative in this difficult post. The social side of diplomatic life is a powerful influence, and the embassy staff and military and naval attachés seemed that afternoon to reflect credit on the country they serve.

During my visit to Tokio, I had one or two other opportunities of meeting Japanese ladies and gentlemen socially, and the charm and delicacy of their home hos-

pitality made a most pleasing impression. The civilized world everywhere is very much alike, and I am, perhaps, doing my hosts an injustice by mentioning it at all. Japan is in the position of eagerly assuming European and American methods and manners, but I am disposed to believe, from what I see and have heard, that they need no stimulus to quicken the gladsome character of their welcome. They remind me more of the French than the English or even the Americans, who, confessedly have in their composition a large share of vivacity and good humor. The Japanese are witty and cheerful, and never lose a chance to exhibit merriment. This is surely indigenous and spontaneous, because humor is not an accomplishment—it is a gift.

The Imperial Hotel at Tokio is owned in part by the Royal Household, and caters to world travelers. At its head, the manager of the corporation, is Aisahu Hyishi. He is now building, to be completed in the spring, a new Imperial Hotel to cost Four Million Dollars, and to be the finest hostelry in the Orient. The architect is an American. I asked Hyishi why he selected an American, and he said it was in recollection of his early life. He had gone to the United States as a poor boy, and he at once enlisted my sympathetic interest, by telling me that he was educated at the Lowell High School in San Francisco under Principal Morton, and that he frequently saw me on the busy days of my Mayoral term. He asked me to accept a Japanese dinner, which I was glad to do.

The dinner was given in a select club which was typically Japanese, even to the smallest detail. We were driven by our host to a remote section of Tokio and stepped out at a club house—a light and airy structure with almost

diaphanous partitions. Charcoal fires in braziers kept the house warm. At the door two young women invited us to take off our shoes, or wear knitted covers, which were conveniently provided. The Japanese squat on the floor, which is covered with matting, and, I am told, it would be no less a breach of etiquette to walk in your boots over the sofas and chairs of a European drawing room than to tread rough-shod on the matting in these dainty houses.

We ascended the stairs, where, in a large room, the guests, about twenty, were assembled, and the usual presentations were made. Allotted a place, we sat down on the floor, which was cushioned, and could even rest our arms on a small, low, movable rack, over which one could talk to his neighbor. All the men save two wore conventional evening dress; they, the native costume, which all the women favored.

Young women of much pulchritude and grace then entered bearing dishes which were placed on a low individual table in front of each person. The viands were of extraordinary flavor, and very deliciously cooked. A small glass of warm Saki—an ardent liquor—was not forgotten, nor was it rejected by the Americans. The Japanese could hardly have known that abstinence had become our established national religion, otherwise, always thoughtful, they might, alas, have shunted the Saki!

Presently the geisha girls came in to entertain the company with music, song and dance. They were very young—not more than sixteen—and met every expectation created in one's mind by the tales of Lafcadio Hearn and Pierre Loti. It was a perfect entertainment, and the guests silently slipped away, pursuant to an ancient custom, which

saves the host, theoretically, from the pangs of parting.

At Baron Gato's home we had another experience—in fact, rare pleasure—of participating in the "Tea Ceremony" whose quaint, yet solemn symbolism, is eloquently limned by Okakura-Kakuzo, the Japanese poet, in his "Book of Tea." Teaism is a cult. He says that the ceremony was an improvised drama, whose plot was woven about the tea, the paintings and the flowers. Not a color was permitted to disturb the tone of the room, nor a sound to mar the rhythm. There, in his beautiful home, the Baron presided at the head of the special ceremonial room with his family and guests—young men and women—in a half circle around him. They spoke English; one was educated at Wellesley and another at Harvard. A young girl, skilled in the art, began to prepare the revered beverage. The bowl was of rare beauty and great value. The hot water was gracefully ladled, and in it the tea was steeped. It was elaborate as a rite, and interesting for us to learn that poetry and tradition still have loving devotees in a transformed, if not perverse generation.

Each guest was given a special brew, and he quaffed it, as prescribed, in exactly three and a half sips. It all seemed to the Western mind rather trivial, but one might see in it the illusions of life pictured in the romance of Tang and Sung. They were under the spell of a sbutle influence which one could not well understand. Okakura, whose book I found in an hotel library, tells us that "The East and the West, like two dragons tossed in a sea of ferment, in vain strive to regain the jewel of life. . . . The afternoon glow is brightening the bamboos, the fountains are bub bling with delight, the soughing of the pines is heard in our

kettles. Let us dream of evanescence, and linger in the beautiful foolishness of things."

Such was the atmosphere of the Baron's home.

During the quiet ceremony no harsh word was spoken, but an unearthly spirit of gentleness and beauty seemed to pervade the spot.

When we repaired to another apartment, we entered another world. Japan's dream passes. We now enter the domain of business and politics. Baron Gato is the Mayor of Tokio, a city of over two million souls, and asked me, as a former city official, to visit him that day to discuss municipal affairs. He told me he had been called to clean up a bad situation—not unknown in American cities—and accepted the task. His program for radical improvements reaches Eight Hundred Million yen, or Four Hundred Million dollars. He has been twice in the Cabinet, and is called "The Roosevelt of Japan." He is a laughing philosopher, and conveys the impression in his sparkling eyes that he is capable of great things. He does not possess that abomination, found so frequently in the near great, of seeming wise. He was mentioned prominently in the press to succeed Hara as Premier. He will, I am told, guide Japan some day—and soon.

But still, without any seeking on my part, my experiences accumulate. I was at Nikko when I received an invitation from the Chamber of Commerce of Tokio. I had no intention to accept hospitality, and even sent word to our ambassador by one of his secretaries, a personal friend who met me on the steamer, that my public position on the Japanese question might prove embarrassing to him, and requested that no notice be taken of my visit. But should

I avoid explaining the California viewpoint to a representative body which made the request because I was known in Japan to be antagonistic to "the silent invasion?" Certainly not. It was an opportunity to enlighten a body whose power and prestige should command attention.

The letter read:

Tokio Chamber of Commerce
Maru-No-Uchi, Tokio,
October 30, 1921.

Hon. James D. Phelan,
Nikko.

Dear Sir:—

Learning you have visited this country, I wished to have the pleasure of meeting you. I have been asking the management of the Imperial Hotel, from time to time, about your arrival here, but am told this afternoon at 2:30 p. m. that you were gone to Nikko. I sadly miss it.

Now it is my earnest desire asking you to put aside a a few hours to take lunch or dinner with me, also some of our businessmen who are rather anxious to meet and allowed to have your views on "the Japanese Problem in California" expressed personally. Of course, we have read the newspapers stating what you have said, but that would not bring us thorough understanding of your situation.

I heard you are coming back to this town on Tuesday, and would like you very much to be kind enough to make an appointment with me for either lunch or dinner, then I shall advise as many people as possible, including our members.

Your reply will greatly oblige me.

Respectfully yours,

THE TOKIO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
(Signed) B. Hattori, Secretary.

The secretary, in good season, called with a car at my hotel, and I met at the luncheon these gentlemen:

Baron Y. Sakatani, Member of the Peers.
Mr. J. Inouye, Governor, the Bank of Japan.
Mr. Y. Ito, President, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha.
Dr. M. Shiozawa, President of the Waseda University.
Dr. T. Takasugi, Professor of the Waseda University of English, also Hon. Interpreter for President of the Tokio Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. R. Fujiyama, President of the Tokio Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. E. Sugihara, Vice-Pres. the Tokio Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. R. Yamashina, Vice-Pres. the Tokio Chamber of Commerce.
Mr. B. Hattori, Chief Secretary the Tokio Chamber of Commerce, also Professor the Waseda University of Money and Bank.
Dr. S. Yamada, Professor the Tokio Imperial University of International Law.

At table the conversation touched upon many questions of the day, but not the one I came to discuss. All were cordial in their manner, and all except two spoke English. Finally the President, venerable and genial Fujiyama, rose, and spoke in Japanese, which was immediately interpreted to me. He wished better understanding, welcomed me in a glass of French wine to Tokio, and concluded by inviting me to go into an adjoining room where, around a table, the discussion might be had. When there he again spoke, and I replied, giving a picture of California to-day, the history of immigration and the detriment of non-assimil-

ables. I quoted statistics of land control and production—a drain of Seventy Million Dollars a year by Japanese, and I emphasized their phenomenal birthrate. In the exchange of views, they admitted the evils of immigration en masse; agreed it should be stopped, but made a plea for the protection of the Japanese already in California. The professors engaged in long disputations, but everything was done courteously. I at no time felt the least embarrassment, and it appeared to me that they honestly sought information and appreciated the American viewpoint. In the same spirit, Mr. S. Sheba, General Manager of the Japan Times, an evening daily printed in English, addressed me an open letter which grandiloquently began:

> "A score and a half years ago, when I first entered the life of a journalist, the very first number of my little paper then launched in Hawaii, contained a translation of an anti-Japanese article by James D. Phelan, published at the time in the North American Review. I remember that it served as the first tocsin to the resident Japanese."

He urged forbearance in the interests of humanity. Later Mr. Sheba called on me at my hotel for a free discussion. I also promised to make a reply to his letter, which he published that day. This I did in the following letter addressed to the Japanese Times:

> "I have read Mr. Sheba's letter addressed to me in your columns and I admire the spirit of his style and the courtesy of his manner. He is studying the interests of his country and like others is trying to reconcile them with the welfare of the world and the good of humanity. It is a nice question, however, whether we cannot best sub-

serve these high purposes by looking strictly after our own affairs. It has been said that, if every one swept in front of his own doorstep, we would have a clean city!

"The United States is a great homogeneous democracy and its strength and perpetuity depend on its constituent parts. To live it must preserve the character of its population. It has institutions and ideas to defend and, by universal suffrage, the people rule. The standards of the common man have been raised, and he enjoys freedom and opportunity which were denied him in Europe. 'He loves his country because his country loves him.' so when any danger threatens his prosperity and happiness it is the duty of his country to avert it. By preserving that democracy we made a great contribution to the world. It has inspired many nations and Japan has bettered herself greatly by emulating its example in many things.

"It is true, I wrote an article for the North American Review twenty years ago, as Mr. Sheba observes, but it was not 'Anti-Japanese.' It was an argument in favor of re-enacting the Chinese Exclusion law. The Chinese were coming into the States en masse and the California people were thrown out of employment and there was much distress. The Chinese worked for low wages and the Caucasian, with his family, could not survive the competition, without lowering his standards and that he refused to do; and so he defended and sustained all that we mean by Western civilization. Then the Japanese influx of farm laborers began and the same experience was repeated. The 'Gentleman's Agreement' was intended to check immigration, but the Japanese population continues to increase. To show you one palpable abuse—under the agreement actual wives of immigrants may go to them. The 'Picture' bride law evasion was stopped. Now the Japanese visit Japan and bring back new wives. This was not contemplated. The result is that the wife becomes not only a prolific mother, but is a laborer and

works by the side of her husband, as she does in the rural districts of Japan. To-day for every thirteen children born in California one is a Japanese. So we are getting, by one way or another a constant increase of Japanese where the two governments had agreed to restrict it.

"There are fully One Hundred Thousand Japanese in California and they control one-sixth of our irrigated lands, and of vegetables and berries produce from fifty per cent to ninety-eight per cent of the whole crop; in most instances fixing the prices by illegal combinations. They maintain their own schools and teach their own language and history of the new generation, holding them in allegiance to Japan which regards them as Japanese citizens, although the Constitution of the United States confers American citizenship upon them.

"I have been very glad to have had an opportunity to discuss these matters with representative gentlemen of Japan, and I gather that they agree that all emigration of farm laborers should stop. They ask that the rights of resident Japanese in America be protected, which shall be and is done. They are secure under our laws in the property they have acquired and their persons are as sacred as our own. There is no attempt at race assimilation and neither race asks it. They cannot become citizens, but their children may. That is our problem—to assimilate the new generation and make them Americans in thought and action. For this purpose the Japanese language schools in California should be given up and the boys and girls receive only the public school education. The Colony System should then be abandoned and the Japanese scatter in many States, and not impose the whole burden of assimilation on California. That is a suggestion I offer, because I know that the Japanese in California are controlled through the Consular Service by Tokio.

"I feel much reassured by my short visit in Japan. The people appear to very much greater advantage, naturally,

> in their own great country of which they are properly proud. They are courteous and considerate to strangers, and I appreciate very much the kindness they have shown me, especially so since the press pictured me as one who was prejudiced. I have no prejudice. Democratic, I personally and cordially accept the Japanese whom I have met on terms of absolute equality. I am, however, politically pro-American for the reasons stated, and I can see only injury to both races and peoples by further mass immigration.
>
> "I sincerely wish to promote a better understanding. Now and at all times travelers, merchants, students, savants will be welcome to America, and I am sure, without unnecessary friction or delay, all matters of difference will be amicably settled."

Mr. Sheba subsequently published a rejoinder, but brought out no new facts. I had, however, charged that the Japanese Government, through the Consular Service, controlled the Japanese, and urged that Tokio dissolve the vernacular schools and colony system in California, and so, by scattering the individuals and giving public school education exclusively to young Japanese, they would be better Americanized. If they remain, under the Federal Constitution, citizens and voters, they should be trained by America, so they will be less harmful to the State.

In his careful reply, which is a significant fact, Mr. Sheba did not deny that the Tokio Government controlled the Japanese in California, but he thought that the releasing of Japan's claim on the native born, and holding him to American citizenship might be arranged; and that, as to the schools, a knowledge of the Japanese language, he said, is a mutually advantageous accomplishment. But

I think it is also a powerful instrument to delay, if not thwart, the Americanizing process.

It is well-known that the schools which the Japanese maintain in America teach also Japanese imperialism, the divinity of the Mikado and the allegiance due him by all Nipponese at home or abroad. So really, the Japanese position to-day is to hold all its subjects in foreign lands to allegiance; to fight, if necessary, for the Mikado, and spurn the hand that feeds them; to economically drain a generous land and leave it open to its enemy. More than that, if its enemy be Japan, to not only "give aid and comfort to the enemy"—a treasonable offence everywhere—but to take up arms in his behalf. The business of raising snakes is a wasteful national enterprise!

Under the Federal constitution, difficult to amend, let us assume that persons born on the soil are to become citizens. Then we should take hold of the young generation and train them in the way they should go. As I have shown, Tokio now directs their destiny. If the Washington government requires Japan to surrender its claim to "dual citizenship" over her subjects, then she will have less interest in their education and her schools will collapse; and the young men themselves may go back to their ancestral land, a land that needs American methods, which they shall have acquired in every field, because they shall be relieved of the fear of enforced military service. Both countries would thus be the gainers. I mean no discourtesy when I say so, but the stubborn fact remains that Japanese youths in large numbers are not desirable, even when Americanized, because biologically the race question is a menace. All experience teaches us that inter-marriage and

a half-cast progeny is a national detriment. The Japanese are strong because their race has not yet been corrupted by the infusion of discordant strains.

I always felt that I was under observation and thought that these meetings were not fortuitous, but planned. Perhaps, I was actually "shadowed." It might easily have been my own Japanese guide, a veteran of the Russian war, a Baptist, not a Buddist, who, in good part, kept the authorities informed. He always stated that I was entitled to special attention. When I got on a steamer late at night at Shimonoseki to cross the Sea of Japan to Korea, the boat was crowded, because on the morning trip she was forced to put back on account of a storm, and my party was without sleeping accommodations, although they were reserved. Soldiers crowded the companionways. The guide said to me, "I will see the Captain." I advised it would not help to reveal my identity, but the guide said: "Leave it to me." He knew, he afterwards disclosed, that my name was an "open sesame." The best cabins were put promptly at our disposal. At Fusan, in the raw morning, the uniformed dock official presented himself and passed my baggage, and twenty-five miles from Soeul a Japanese gentleman called, whose coming was heralded by a telegram, to offer me the services of the "Friendly Society" while in "The Hermit Kingdom," and I experienced the same attention at Mukden, the capital of Manchuria.

But I started to state, in the first instance, that a vernacular evening paper in Tokio had kept very close tab on my movements. After telling how I paid my dole to the Daibutsu—the great bronze Buddha at Kamokura—because "I liked it" the story went on to narrate how I di-

vided my candy with the little children. It said: "This terrible enemy of Japan is, after all, an amiable old party, who, like the leopard, will change his tongue." Well, like the leopard, I changed my spots, and took the train for the Western Capital, the famous and populous (Five Hundred Thousand) city of Kyoto, the home town of the reigning family and the art center of Japan.

I left the Central station at 2:30 P. M., and a few hours later, at the very stile through which I had passed, the unfortunate Premier, Takashi Hara, bound for Kyoto, where I had planned to hear him address his party convention, was cruelly assassinated.

When he fell, the cause of liberal government shared his mortal wound. In the background stood the hateful effigy of Militarism, like a masked and ferocious Samauri which despises the peaceful process of industrial development. When loot beckons from unprotected lands and illicit possession is the prize of ruthless war, the military party claims the saddle, and cupidity will perhaps win the passing approval of the people. The Disarmament Conference, however, should somehow remove their fangs or destroy their venom.

Tokio, November 5, 1921.

ARTICLE V

Kyoto; Assassination of Hara; Governmental Organization; Industrial Crisis.

THE DEATH of Premier Hara caused a profound sensation. Japan had been on her good behavior. She was a candidate for the favor of the world. The conference at Washington was assembling. Hara had appointed the Japanese delegation, and was nominally the head of the Government standing for the elements opposed to the military party. It was Japan's role to play the repentent sinner. The Militarists were not even given a representative on the delegation, and the curtain was about to rise—when the great Commoner, on whom hung the hopes of his country, fell. Consternation followed.

It seems that the assassin was given the job last June, and had frequently sought an opportunity, and that he had been instigated to strike the blow by a higher railroad employee, his superior officer at a suburban station.

If it were a plot, it was either planned by partisans who

cared little for the public opinion of the world—if, indeed, they had ever heard of such a thing—or by the Militarists, who wished to break into the conference in a dramatic way, and, by a change of administration, seize the reins of power. In any event, it was done in anger. One is almost disposed to believe that even the Japanese politicians are too clever and too well disciplined to connive at such an act at such a time.

An intelligent but excited Japanese said to me the night of the tragedy: "He deserved it."

"But what had he done?" I asked. "Was he not the peoples' friend; had he not espoused democratic ideas and refused titles from the Crown?"

"Yes," he replied, "but he also let profiteers run riot; Japan was the only country that did not attempt to regulate prices during the war; it is now paying with the high cost of living and the decline of exports; and, furthermore, he refused to enlarge the voting franchise and the people called in vain for his resignation."

Now, it will be observed that these are all domestic questions, and the world is shocked because it has been thinking only in terms of international relations. The best judgment I can get is that, so far as the Genro would let him, Hara was sound on the importance of Japan keeping on terms with the powers, for, without their countenance, she can get nowhere; and, enjoying the vantage ground of a large view, he knew as a patriot his value to his country, which the excited rabble could neither see nor understand.

The government is not a very responsible one, and the faults of Hara may well be caused by his handicaps. Hara was the first Commoner and first party leader to become

Premier. He was forceful and commanded a majority of the diet. He had held office three years during a turbulent period.

But what is behind the Diet? Japan is called a "Constitutional Monarchy" by its friends. It is really an oligarchy, and is governed by a body of four men, called Genro or Elder Statesmen, unknown to the constitution or the law. The Emperor is theoretically the divine source of all authority and enjoys the plenitude of power and these angelic personages have his ear. When they die it is predicted there will be no more Genro. They are feared and respected. Until they acted, no politician or party would dare suggest the successor of Hara. They finally selected the Finance Minister of the Cabinet, obviously to save Japan's face before the world. It is said they were not friendly to Hara's policies, but they decided to fall in with them temporarily. As to Takahashi, the new Premier, he was educated in the United States as a boy, and there is a story current in diplomatic circles here that the American trustee for his educational fund absconded. How shall Takahashi regard America? Or was his education completed when his fund was depleted? But to return.

Prince Ito, when Premier in other days, was assassinated, and Okuma (still alive) had a leg blown off by a bomb. Political crimes are generally bred by the inability of the people to express themselves lawfully by ballot, and the unfortunate Hara may have been the victim of his own obstinacy, or, more likely, the Genro's obstruction. The wisdom of extending the suffrage at the same pace with education, and making parliaments more responsive, is manifest. It makes, at any rate, for law observance. The

Japanese are omniverous readers of newspapers, of which they have many, and revel in political discussion. Repression means explosion. I believe that eventually Japan will become a Republic and that the people are fast qualifying themselves for self government. It may come in ten years.

The Imperial Diet of Japan consists of a stable House of Peers and a changeable House of Representatives. The Peers number Three Hundred and Seventy-nine members; the Representatives Three Hundred and Eighty-one, elected by a very limited suffrage. Until the Emperor concurs in and proclaims a law, it is not effective. The official guide states that the Emperor has "supreme executive power," and also "legislative power, with the consent of the Diet," and, crescendo, "Judiciary power" with, I suppose, the consent of the Courts! At present he is known to be incompetent, and his son immature. The Genro are old and wise. The supreme "boss" is one Prince Yamagata, who refused to approve the Crown Prince's fiancée, either for fear of her clan grasping power, or her own hereditary imperfection. He is reported to have said that color blindness shall not be transmitted to the royal line. The king can see no wrong! Yamagata will probably enact the part of a Bismark, and then lose princely favor when presently the divine one assumes the sunkist throne.

While the death of the Premier is the cause of much unrest, it is by no means the only cause of crisis. Japan's exports are dwindling. No overseas merchants are buying, and that is on account of the high prices. War boosted costs. It greatly increased taxes and wages. Wages will not smilingly come down with rice at seven cents a pound and

everything else in proportion. Taxes will not come down because Japan likes to play the role of a first-class power by land and sea. She is "keeping up with the Joneses." She has to buy raw material abroad. This year she is also buying the food of the people, and is eating rice from California! Something must happen—curtailment or collapse.

The currency holds up, notwithstanding adverse trade balances, because, I am told, Japan is making up the deficit with gold stored in New York, perhaps a part of her war chest. So, altogether, the Island Kingdom is ill at ease economically and politically. She is not, however, dying of dryrot. She will put up a fight. But she cannot but realize her dependency on the outside world. That, however, is another story, and is the key to her foreign policy.

For the year, up to and including October, the Japanese imports exceeded exports by Three Hundred and Sixty Million yen or One Hundred and Eighty Million Dollars gold. The Chugai Shogyo newspaper sees no immediate relief. Raw silk, it said yesterday, is expected to be more largely exported, but the export market of cotton textiles and yarns is "extremely depressed," and the prospect is for greatly increased imports of wool, raw cotton and rice, wheat and other cereals from abroad. "It is a dismal trade situation," it concludes, "and if high prices continue to prevail in markets at home, excessive imports will continue, preventing revival in economic circles, imparing the dignity and prestige of our national standing abroad and causing the frequent occurrence of labor disputes in the country."

Do not imagine that labor is submissive in Japan. The abolition of the Feudal system a few decades ago has liber-

ated labor, and "Big Business" in Japan has to share the profits of trade and meet the problems of "the slump." "The slump" has arrived. If wages do not go down, Japan cannot compete for business, and her exports are dwindling. Insular, she is dependent on others for food and raw materials. She must import, and now her money, not her commodities are required to pay for them; and how long will her money last?

In contemplating the plight of England and Japan, the United States should feel comparatively secure in times of stress. A continental commonwealth, such as ours, can always, when its commerce fails, fall back on its own resources.

If Japan cannot find an export market, what becomes of her industrial population? The world does not know the feverish and astounding development which has taken place in Nippon in the last few years.

As the train pulled into Osaka, the great industrial city not only in Japan, but in the Orient, I saw a forest of chimneys, some, I am told, Seven Hundred feet high, belching out fumes generated by no less than one million tons of coal annually. The manufactures are hardware, leather, matches, glass—but principally cotton and woolen goods, the spinning and weaving of which requires Two Hundred and Eighty Thousand spindles and creates an output annually valued at One Hundred Million Dollars gold. The population has grown from about Three Hundred Thousand in 1882 to One Million Three Hundred Thousand in 1921.

But check exports and you upset labor. The spindles stop. Heretofore Japan in its pastoral days, before the

intruding Perry in 1853 intimidated the Shogun to open the ports to commerce, was happy with agriculture, the freest and best employment for the people, just as Revolutionary America was a commonwealth of liberty-loving stalwarts, uncontaminated by contact with so-called "civilization," which is too often expressed in slums and strikes. Chicane and cunning unfortunately are concomitants of commerce, and simple folk are sophisticated. Goldsmith rebukes Pope, for saying that "An honest man is the noblest work of God." He might be, reflected the author of the "Vicar," a country lout destitute of imagination or genius, and it would be a reflection on humanity to put him first! When the king, in the story, was prescribed for his ills to wear "the shirt of an honest man," the king's messengers went forth to find, and when they found an honest man, lo! he had no shirt. The Japanese farmers are also sans-culottes. Honesty alone is not a talisman to success. It must work in combination with intelligence and energy. It is a bootless task to find a shirtless tramp. It is necessary to reconcile the higher civilization somehow to the simple virtues.

A nation, to be great by modern standards, must not only preserve agriculture, but stimulate manufactures. Japan cannot apparently produce enough food for her own people, so she must either restrict population or make something to sell for exchange, or overflow on her neighbors' territory. A Chinese cynic says, "The floods and epidemics kill many in China and providentally relieve the pressure." Nature limits in all the ages the populations by the food supply. Nature is inexorable. Starvation, disease and internal conflict prune the tree of life—but the

tree endures. Japan will not remain pruned! She goes sprouting to California and Korea and Manchuria, creating everywhere the same problems for other people. She is herself, economically speaking, a plague.

No wonder her farming class migrate. Wornout land, high costs and burdensome taxes hold them to incessant labor. For sixteen hours in a typical case given by Dr. S. Washio, a Japanese publicist, a farmer works his wife and six children on a seven "tan" field, and gets a doutbful One Hundred Dollars a year, out of which he must provide the necessities for his family. In the expense bill of running the farm, I note that nearly one-half is for fertilizers. The learned doctor comments: "Of all the grave problems facing Japan the most disheartening is probably the miserable condition of rural life." The rural population is Fifty-two per cent of the total population, and Eighty per cent of the food supply of the people is dependent on their work. There is, according to Dr. Washio, a revolt of tenant farmers, who are organizing in Yamanashi and a dozen other prefectures; and he further states: "The government and people are losing control of the country's destiny."

This iteration and reiteration of hard times, agricultural and industrial, carries a note of despair. Enter now the militarists and say: "We must demand expansion in America (California) and forcibly penetrate Asia (Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia, China)." This is the program they offer the people. Hara dead, what shall the people do? What can they do under their system of government?

Kyoto, Japan, Nov. 11, 1921

ARTICLE VI

Korea—Crushed and Humiliated; Expansion Problems.

I HAD traveled all day from Kyoto to Shimonaseki and seemed to have traversed the entire extent of Japan. The matchless mountain—Fujyama—perfectly symmetrical kept well in view at close range for hours, and then the train skirted the shores of the renowned Inland Sea, displaying as its particular gem the sacred island of Myajima. These are Japan's glories.

All railroads are narrow-gauge, and glide like serpents across valleys and through tunnels. It is a toyland of surprising things.

From Shimonaseki, the most southerly extremity, I crossed to Korea, and saw the clustered islands behind which the Japanese fleet in Nineteen Hundred and Four waited for the Russian Armada, then on its way through the straits to Vladivostock, and destroyed it.

It is always a rough crossing, on account of the conflicting currents, but has not seemed to serve as a "watery wall," like Britain's barrier, for Korea.

Then all day we traveled in perfectly-equipped Pullmans over a broad-gauge from Fusan to Soeul, the capital of Korea, the "Hermit Kingdom," there to be courteously met at 10:00 P. M. by Japanese gentlemen from the "Friendly Society." I wondered when the bureau for the prevention of prying closed its door for the night!

The Korean people are of good stature, but their headdress is a fair target for innocent mirth, and, indeed, would indicate on their part the absence of a fine sense of proportion. A diminutive stovepipe hat of no utility sits on their heads like the budding flower of Western civilization! But, whatever its destiny might have been, it has stopped growing! The people wear long flowing white robes everywhere and at every task, and I am told it is the mourning they express, inconsolable, for the loss of their Emperor as well as their independence. It is a pathetic picture of helpless devotion and abused confidence. It will take many generations to make them forget, and I do not believe their masters, the Japanese, know the art of ingratiation.

Here is an ancient land, Eighty-seven Thousand square miles of surface and Eighteen Million people, taken by Japan, which has established a military despotism. So far as relieving her own congested population is concerned, it is a failure. The crown lands were taken by Japan, and the Korean tenant farmers, who used to pay 20% rent to the Emperor annually, now are displaced by Japanese, and have gone farther north as pioneers in Manchuria. The country is reduced to subjection. I am told that the civil organization, in an administrative sense, possibly has been improved. The missionaries, who have an income of one

and a half millions annually, have lost their standing with the people and bitterly complain. It seems that under the monarchy they could get favors from the throne through the American Legation, by which individuals would be protected against the rapacity of dishonest officials. The Japanese cut this off, and the attitude of the people toward the missionaries has been altered.

Recently there have been demonstrations for independence, and Japan finds that it has been unable to popularize its rule, and is resorting to repressive measures. The peasant farmers, as long as they are not molested, keep functioning, and the intellectuals—mostly, but not all—feebly demand freedom from the Japanese yoke. It seems to me the Japanese are firmly entrenched. They say the Japanese coolie fears to go to Korea, because, retaliating for the massacre of 1919, when thousands of Koreans were butchered, there is a secret society that condemns them to death. Korea, I fear, is a weak spot in Japan's armor.

Japan's original policy towards Korea, which she coveted, was "silent penetration" for ten years; then open assumption of sovereignty and coerced cession in 1910. Since then, about Two Hundred Thousand Japanese, all told, or only two per cent of the entire population, have come to Korea, although urged and aided by their government.

Americans were once in great favor at the court of Korea. A commission visited the United States in President Cleveland's day and negotiated a treaty whereby the United States promised to protect Korean sovereignty. In the crisis Roosevelt refused to acknowledge the obliga-

tion. He was deeply impressed by Japan's success in her wars, and, because America was unprepared, avoided foreign complications. China had a claim on Korea as suzerain, and that gave a faint color to the spoils theory of successful war.

Soeul is beautifully situated, not unlike Florence, in a depression between hills. It has, however, nothing to distinguish it. The social life among Americans and English is very delightful, and they gladly reside in the ancient city, whose climate is particularly salubrious. Americans built the first railroads, street car systems and electric plants, but they were all politely taken over by the Japanese on low but agreed valuation. Americans are now mining under concessions from the old Korean government, and paying royalties to Japan. The principal mineral is gold.

I was entertained at a native feast by a group consisting of an American miner, a Standard Oil Company agent, the Associated Press representative, an English insurance agent, and the American Consul, and their ladies—a little club that fills in that far land the craving for home and country. We went to a tea-house, shed our shoes, squatted on the floor and took up our chopsticks. The hospitable hosts cooked the meal in pots over charcoal braziers. It consisted mainly of rice, bits of tender beef, onions and other vegetables, all simmering before one's eyes, and it proved a delicious and wholesome chow. Time after time, the tickled palate, with a new interest in the cuisine of the East, would demand more. The dish, which won a triumph, is called "Tsukiyaki"—rare because no one probably can call for it!

These Americans are enjoying Japanese protection in their business, and at dinner the ranking Japanese official of Korea familiarly participated in the feast. He was a bland, agreeable servant of the Mikado. Why did he come? To promote silence.

Before I left Soeul, a strange man whispered in my ear one day in the street for me to get the truth of Korea from a certain person whom I shall not mention, and the In learned of the despotism under which the native people live, and the horrors of the massacre of Nineteen Hundred and Eleven. On the surface everything appears serene, but the depths and pits of patriotic resentment in the human heart are profound, and sooner or later, so ineradicable is love of country, there will be an explosion, when Japan is in distress and exposed, which will shake the foundation of things, just as the French overlords were obliterated in Santo Domingo during the great revolution.

The missionaries, suffering loss of influence long established by kindly offices, dislike the Japanese, a sentiment which, I frankly declare, from conversations in many lands, is almost universal. That is because when they come as foes, they are selfish and ruthless, and, when as friends, they are regarded as insincere. They do not fit into the frank honesty of Western civilization. The cultured and ancient peoples, like the Koreans and Chinese, regard them as upstarts, and are humiliated by their mastery. By a policy of inertia—just sticking to the soil—native races there will, I believe, absorb the unwelcome immigrants, who ultimately will lose their identity, notwithstanding all that imperialistic Nippon can do.

There is a general agreement among persons resident

in the East that, irrespective of the Christian propaganda, the missionaries advance the trade interests of their nationals and pave the way to increased intercourse, and that is why the Japanese are undermining American Missionary establishments. Among the Koreans Americans have already suffered seriously in prestige and in prosperity. The labors of years are seemingly wasted. A businessman told me that on the surface Americans now appeared to enjoy equal opportunity in commercial business, which thrived under the monarchy; but the facts are that there are numerous impediments cunningly interposed to wean customers away. For instance, an American firm underbids a Japanese on imported articles, but the preference is given the Japanese by the government in facilitating transportation and delivery. This man told me it took thirty days to get a certain article from San Francisco, but it took him forty-eight days more to get it from the railroad yards; meantime, his customer, who could not wait, bought a Japanese article at a higher price.

If there are subtle discriminations, the "open door" is fraudulent. Such discriminations are only possible where the rival tradesman is in control. Perhaps the Lansing-Ishii understanding was the greatest blow ever delivered at the "open door" policy of the United States, because it attempted to concede Japan's superior interest in territory, not owned by Japan, but close to her shore. This agreement was never submitted to the Senate, and yet Japan claims it has the force of a treaty, and she goes forth to act upon it. It is in the commercial field what the Root-Takihara agreement is in the political—another conspicuous blunder. This, the so-called "Gentleman's Agree-

ment," should have been submitted to Congress as an immigration bill, or to the Senate as a treaty, and then the facts would have been disclosed, and the mistakes of such secret diplomacy obviated. These practices are sheer usurpations. I met a retired diplomatist who told me that Secretary of State Lansing declared in conference that the rights growing out of propinquity are "axiomatic in diplomacy." If that be true, then a nation not only holds its own sovereignty, but controls its neighbor's against the world, and closes the open door.

It is no answer to say that Japan has a right to expand. She seeks territory and preferential or special rights. It can be shown that her present territorial possessions are ample for her population, and that a fair and equal field for her trade is all that she can justly ask in the world competition for business.

I met a student of far Eastern affairs in one of the embassies, who gave me his emphatic opinion that Japan is unable to colonize even unoccupied places at home, because of the indisposition of her own people to move, and that the military party is still using the "need of more space in the sun" as a cloak for aggression. In other words, it is not the placing of population, but the seeking of materials and markets for manufactures that interest Japan.

Of One Hundred and Thirty-eight Thousand square miles in the four main islands, Sixty-one per cent are moor and forest. The State owns Fifty-eight per cent of the land, and in 1919 the government appropriated only One Million Six Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars for reclamation for a period of nine years, whereas the United States

spent One Hundred and Forty-seven Millions of Dollars in eighteen years. It is interesting to hear that in taxes tenants pay Fifty-seven per cent of the total yield of rice in paddy land, and that the owners pay Thirty per cent of the rent.

The island Hokkaido of the Japanese group, as large as New York State, can easily support five times its present population of Two Million. Japan raises no domestic animals, and does not avail itself of its grazing lands, nor its full agricultural possibilities. My informant concluded by saying that it is the purpose of the crafty old men who guide the destiny of the nation to take Japan out of the agricultural class, and raise her to a position of trade competition with the older nations of the Occident. This interests the world in its pocket. My friend, who likes the Japanese, says this policy is stifling the soul of the nation, and destroying the health of the people. He supports his contention by alarming statistics from industrial centers.

Japan is apparently solving the question of over-population by industrialism. The number of deaths in Tokyo in 1919 exceeded the births by Four Hundred and Thirty-three. It is shown that tuberculosis and miscarriages follow in the train of factory life. But Japan continues in the position of dependence on foreign countries for raw materials such as wool and cotton. She raises little. Her cotton production has fallen from One Hundred Million pounds in 1894 to Six Million Six Hundred Thousand pounds in 1917, and yet she neglects agriculture, the peoples' first employment. It is a mad race for a manufacturing position, stimulated by the war, when she supplied the world, now slumping to normal conditions. By cutting off her

supply of raw materials she would have to surrender to a blockading foe, and her purpose in acquiring territory is doubtless more to ultimately produce raw materials than to accommodate her excess population, and at the same time to enlarge her sphere of commercial influence.

Other nations do not want Japan to get the advantage, and commercial rivalry often leads to serious misunderstandings. It appears to me that she will have to submit to the decrees of the conference or perish. If the powers cut off her materials and her market, either or both, she is done for. Her fight has been declared by her as one for existence; and she will doubtless try to hold on to her navy undiminished until she gets an agreement that will safeguard her interests. But she cannot long afford it.

It is obviously a time for "cards on the table," and an all-around settlement to avoid more ships. Japan should understand it, but her mind has been dazzled by success and sudden wealth. Her aggressive spirit dates from her alliance with England. England had controlled the Orient, and surrendered her advantage, moved by false fear of Russia, just as the United States, which by keeping up its naval program, would have bankrupted Japan (and so preserved the peace of the world), threw away the advantage by a quixotic display of altruism. Again must the elder statesmen be amused at the false fear or ostentatious philanthropy which they have inspired in Uncle Sam, and snicker at his amiability; but Uncle Sam must wake up, confident in his strength, and lay down the Oriental pipe which was handed to him by "his great and good friend." He is a child in diplomacy dissociated from the big stick.

Generally it is a good rule to "put yourself in her place."

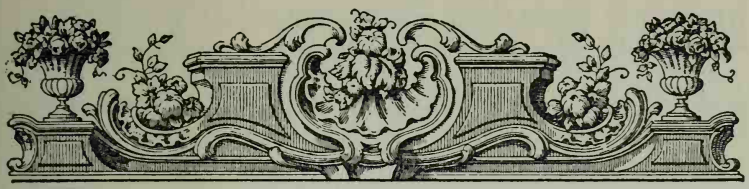
Japan needs land to obtain raw materials. She sees other nations pursuing that policy. Her cupidity, coupled with revenge, doubtless began with the intervention of France, Germany and Russia, which denied her the spoils of her Chinese war victory in 1895, and then appropriated the spoils themselves. Japan built a navy as a mouthpiece, and asked to be heard.

Historically, France was the first nation to demand "special rights" from China, and others followed, but England had long enjoyed the actual possession of Hong Kong, a crown colony, won by war. Germany and Russia made many encroachments on China; and Japan, when the time was ripe, took Korea and started her drive against the Celestial empire.

The trouble with Japan is that she is too late in stealing other peoples' property. Her thefts are based on precedents gone wrong, which cannot be condoned and which the modern spirit repudiates. The powers might justly consent to the acquisition of certain territory such as a part of sparsely settled Siberia on condition that all stand for the open door in Manchuria and China and that Japan give compensation in some form for her acquisition of another's property. If unrestrained, Japan will take the far East commercially as her own. The powers of the world have an equal right to commercial opportunities. Rivalry should not degenerate into enmity. It is the business of the Conference to make a settlement. But the direct way to world peace would have been to dissolve the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and then leave the nations free to build navies. Japan would be unable to build, and would thus cease to be a menace. She is the marplot of the Pacific.

Now, let us generously propose a settlement, consistent with the legitimate aspirations of Japan, and then effect a firm agreement by all interests to promote the development of the backward countries and maintain within them the open door. Let Japan fall in line. She has too long aped imperialism and lusted for leadership.

Soeul, December 1, 1921.



ARTICLE VII

Canton; Young China; Wu Ting Fan and the Southern Government

CANTON is the seat of the new Southern Government, claiming to be the Republic of China, presided over by Doctor Sun Yat Sen; and, before leaving Hong Kong, I decided to go there. For this purpose I changed my sailing on the French Messagaries Steamer to a P. and O. vessel, the "Somali," thus gaining two days; and then took passage on a night boat which landed me safely at Canton in the early morning, ninety miles deep in the interior on the banks of the Pearl River.

There was another reason which impelled my footsteps thither, and that was the fact that nearly all of the California Chinese came directly from this province. I recalled the days when, in the late seventies, the Pacific Mail wharf in San Francisco was the scene of turbulent demonstrations. The steamship company, taking advantage of the lax laws, transported thousands of coolies across the ocean, and precipitated a conflict which led to the exclusion law

and the new State Constitution of 1879. James Bryce devotes two chapters of his "American Commonwealth" to these historic events.

How well the men of that period realized the dangers of Asiatic immigration is confirmed by our experience to-day with Japanese coolies. The problem is very simple to those whose judgment is not warped by a desire to procure labor without respect to the consequences. There can be now, as there was then, but one result, and that is, the exclusion of the white man from the soil, the segregation of a foreign and unassimilable element, always increasing, and the final destruction of democratic institutions. I see this written in large ideographs in every land I visit: "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

The East is an enormous empire, and has a destiny of its own. There is abundant room for the surplus population in clearing the forests and the jungles of the fertile lands under the Southern Cross and on the vast steppes of Siberia. But, of course, there is no more alluring siren than American money on the sunny shores of our Pacific slope.

I was told by a Cantonese that when a California coolie returns for a visit to his home folks, he puts on as much style as a "Coal Oil Johnny," and is treated accordingly. The boatmen, after fleecing him, taunt him with the cyr "Kam Shan Ting," which translated means "Gold Mountain Easy Mark," or "boob," because, be it known, California is styled by them the mountain of gold. The unfortunate returned Californian's woes have then only begun. If his home is in the interior, he is often waylaid by bandits who are on the lookout for such as he, and, if he escapes them, a horde of innumerable relatives appear and

claim a part of his wealth. The sentiment of ancestor-worship which brings him back has its disadvantages.

It has occurred to Young China that the way to serve their country is to make it also attractive, and thus hold and benefit its people. So Canton is the first purely Chinese City that has joined the march of progress, and, perhaps, in that respect, it is the most interesting communal experiment in the Orient. Further, it is one of the largest cities of China, having a population of eighteen hundred thousand souls.

I was met at the river landing by a gentleman, most courteous and intelligent, born in Canton of a missionary family, Mr. James M. Henry, President of the American Association and Secretary of the Christian College, an American endowed institution of learning. He brought me to the most modern building, a nine-story "sky-scraper"—a good enough name, because the sky in the Celestial Empire may need scraping. It contained a hotel, department store, and roof garden. We walked critically through the city and along the water-front to the Shameen, or European quarter, reclaimed many years ago by the English from the mud flats bordering the stream, and now owned four-fifths by the English and one-fifth by the French. It is an excellent investment, forty-four acres in extent and improved by good houses and green parks. It has a municipal government of its own. But Uncle Sam has been rather consistent in respecting local rights abroad and at home, so owns nothing and pays rent for a poor little Consulate in a land where appearances count. It is an Oriental saying originally that there are three sources of authority: wisdom, appearance and strength. We ought

to cultivate them all. Other nationalities, for instance, have their separate quarters in Shanghai. We gave up ours under some mollycodinous adminstration, and live in an inadequate rookery in the "international city" with our post office, conducted by Americans, in the "English Basement" of the house. Our flag is the only proud thing about the establishment, but the establishment itself conveys nothing of our importance to the foreign mind. The underpaid Consuls have a struggle to live, and hence cannot hold up their end. America has entered the lists of the world, and must comport herself according to her rank and position.

On our tour of Canton, Consul General Berghaltz and Consul Price received us in their modest office, and telephoned to the government offices, making appointments for me to meet the Cantonese officials.

I learned that the English rulers of the Shameen have expelled the German Consul, and he has gone into the business district to live, where he now enjoys the advantage of better contact, which reminds me that the Germans are even now fast looming as dangerous competitors for trade. I hear it on every side that they will soon press hard the American sewing machine, and even the now dominant motor-car trade. In Java they have just received a large contract for railway equipment, and are about to build extensive shops.

Consul Price joined us, and our first call was at the provincial government Yamen, meaning "a house." There I met Mr. Frank Lee, commissioner of foreign affairs, and a graduate of the New York University, who personally tendered his automobile, and came with us, explaining

everything and pointing out every object of interest. At the City Hall, the Mayor was absent, but his secretary, Mr. Wu, gave us an official publication which illustrated municipal undertakings and the problems of budget and finance. These young men of education and patriotism typify the class that has come back to China to work out its salvation. The Mayor, holding the first office of its kind in all China, Sun Fo, is a graduate of the University of California and of Columbia, New York, and is none less than the son of former Minister Wu Ting Fang, whom I was presently to meet.

The revenues of the city amount to approximately Two Million Mexican Dollars (in our money One Million), and I noticed that one-fourth of the entire sum came from "Sing Song girl licenses." Here was a problem for the reformers; how to regulate this evil without demoralizing the city's finances. The "Sing Song Girls" represent a concession to a company which caters to the entertainment of the gay. Palatial buildings and even houseboats blaze at night with lights and music; song, dance and gambling run the gamut of indulgence. To find such things in the interior of China was a revelation, but proved again that Western Civilization and Oriental guile go hand in hand down the primrose path. The reformers have boldly forbidden gambling, and explain that, deprived of this privilege, the other evils will be minimized; that gambling led to profligacy and to embezzlement of the funds of employers, and had to be promptly curtailed. I suppose if employers are not robbed, they can pay a fuller income tax and give to the City what was abstracted and wasted by the unscrupulous, thus meeting the deficit. The real vice

of the East is opium which destroys men, and that is in the program to go in this worthy regenerating campaign.

I noticed as we went through the streets that modern fire-fighting apparatus put out a threatening blaze, and that hard pavements were being laid on broad streets which had been carved out of the congested areas of the old city, and it was done by our system of awards of benefits and damages. Boulevards also replaced old walls. The spirit of city-planning and design has seized the leaders, and great things may be expected. With more patriotic than artistic pride, I was borne by my friends to a cemetery on a hill six miles out of town, where Chinese from all parts of the world have contributed duly inscribed stones which mark the resting place of the seventy-two martyrs who fell in the revolution of Nineteen Hundred and Eleven. It is a shrine where I paid my reverent homage. I saw the names of Chico, Stockton and San Francisco conspicuously displayed on the stones of the pyramidal mausoleum, marred by the bad art of a bungling sculptor who tried, with the best intentions, to reproduce at the apex Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty. It reminded me of the expression of the citizen who made a toilsome climb to see the unveiling of Mayor Sutro's idea of the subject on a San Francisco hill: "If that be liberty," said he, "give me death."

Just before a cabinet meeting I had, by appointment, an audience with the well-known foreign minister of the new Federal Government, Wu Ting Fang, formerly minister to the United States. We were all ushered into a spacious room guarded by several soldiers, who stood at attention as we passed. Mr. Wu, now seventy-six years of age, was soon announced, and he cordially greeted me. This was in

sharp contrast to another occasion on which I met him, which I now wondered whether he would recall. That was in Nineteen Hundred and Two. I had just retired from the Mayor's office in San Francisco, and had been appointed as State Commissioner by the Governor to go to Washington and press the renewal of the Chinese Exclusion Law embodied in the Geary bill then pending. I had previously summoned a convention to meet in San Francisco, and carried its memorial to Congress. Minister Wu was very much concerned, and fought to save a situation which might involve his diplomatic career, and which, indeed, I believe, was ended by the passage of the law. I happened to be a guest at the Waldorf-Astoria on my way home, when, in walking through the corridors, out popped Wu Ting Fang in Oriental splendor, after having indulged in a sumptuous luncheon. Without thought, a friend greeted him, and at the same time, presented me. At the mention of my name, he withdrew his hand and declared loudly: "You are the enemy of my race!" All this came back to me, but did it come back to him? I soon discovered he had not forgotten it, but he smiled.

Age is not only a great healer, but a great softener. The asperites of life are worn by the attrition of time. I rather enjoyed the meeting, but I had told my friends before entering the official Yamen of the incident and my possible embarrassment. I began the conversation by saying, "Excellency, do you not remember a delightful night many years ago, soon after your first arrival in America, at the Bohemian Club in San Francisco, where you made a brilliant speech." Wu had been brought to the club on the occasion of a largely attended club dinner by the dearly be-

loved and lamented "Uncle George Bromley," who had been, not long before, United States Consul at Tientsin, and where he familiarly knew the minister, who surprised us all that evening by making in English undefiled a perfect speech.

"Oh, yes," he said, as quick as a flash, his piercing eyes regarding me playfully, "I remember it all, and Uncle George Bromley. How long has he passed from this earth?" He asked this meditatively, and almost cheerfully, and it conveyed to me the impression, which he doubtless meant, that we merely pass, in his judgment, from one stage of existence to another. His words conveyed no idea of mortality or sorrow, and when I told him, he repeated it—"Six or seven years," as though he were measuring his own span with equanimity, and were thinking only of resuming his relations with those whome he knew in life. His seemed to be a delightful old age—mind alert, body attenuated, but not broken.

I felt, after this, much more at ease. I ventured, "Perhaps you also remember me? Do you recall the meeting with a representative of California in a New York hotel under extraordinary circumstances?" Well might he remember it, because, in the debate which followed, the hotel corridors became so congested that the police required the crowd to move on, and the New York morning papers gave as much as two columns to the story. The scene was of his own making, and indicated extreme indiscretion on his part, which, I have always believed, contributed to his recall.

"Oh," he said, with broad smiles, "You are also Mayor Phelan. It was in the Waldorf-Astoria. Yes, I remember it. You were then a representative, were you not?" I

explained that I represented only the Governor of my State, but had just now retired from the Upper House of Congress. He then began to enquire for his friends, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Lansing and others. He observed: "Mr. Lansing was a young fellow then, and used to come to the Legation when his father-in-law, John W. Foster, who was our adviser, was away on vacation."

"So," he added, "the same Lansing became Secretary of State." He was doubtless thinking of Lansing's gift to Japan in the Lansing-Ishii agreement.

We discussed his present relations with Americans, and in a half-complaining way observed that his friend, the present American minister to China, had not acknowledged his letter of congratulation on his appointment to the Ministry, nor was he quite reconciled when I said the United States had only recognized the Peking Government and doubtless there was some impropriety in writing to the Cabinet Minister of a rival administration. He answered that American Consuls had found no such embarrassment. That was a shot at the American Consul who asked for my audience. This led to a discussion, with much animation, of the South Chinese Republic, its ideals and its rapid rise to favor. He was sorry the President, Sun Yat Sen, had gone to the neighboring province to be with his troops, but he was a learned and patriotic man. He expressed by words and gestures his amazement at the rise of a new China on the ruins of the old regime. He could hardly believe it himself, remembering the recent past. It was a successful revolution.

"We want," he added, "our men to stay at home. There is work for them now in the administration of the affairs

of their own country and in the field. There are vast tracts to reclaim and bring under profitable cultivation."

He was highly optimistic, and even gleeful, over the prospect of a redeemed country. He wanted America's help and sympathy, but the ways of diplomacy are devious. At present China fears Japan. She is boycotting Nippon's trade. I saw on the temples of Canton inscriptions, roughly written, exhorting Chinese not to buy Japanese goods. It is proving very effective, and Japan is changing her tactics and becoming conciliatory. If Japan and China have a rapprochement and stand together as an Oriental phalanx, the Western powers will be put to their wits ends to preserve their present interests and to hold the door open. Western diplomacy should keep Japan and China apart. After all, China has less to fear from Western nations, and derives far more benefit from them.

I had in mind an authorized statement just given out to the Chinese press by Minister Wu. When telling him that I had read it, I politely intimated that it might be construed as a bid to Japan, and attempted to draw him out; but no, he was imperturbable, as became a responsible minister, and confined himself to the language of felicitation and good will.

What he gave to the press shows how he eliminated the Western world from the plan of settlement, and opens the way to negotiation with Japan. I hope and believe that Wu is speaking only for himself. I do not think Young China will sit down beside (or more likely inside) Japan; and no better service can be rendered China by the powers than by keeping Japan off her back and Young China knows it. Here is Wu's statement:

"I repose deep confidence in the United States, as I stayed there for a long time and have a familiar knowledge of the conditions of that country. But that the United States has not extended her invitation to the Canton Government in connection with the Washington Conference must be looked upon as a great mistake on her part. Our Government, as previously frequently announced, has a firm determination not to approve of any decision relating to China reached at the Conference without the participation of delegates of the Canton Government. In this matter, we are prepared to devise counter measures in case of need in the progress of the Conference. As a consequence of the recent financial embarrassment of the Peking Government apprehensions are being felt by a section of the Chinese people that the financial control of China by the Powers may be realized. But it must be remembered that any nation who deals with China with an aggressive intention, no matter whether it is economically or territorially, ought to be prepared for failure. What we want Japan to do is that she should not stick to the twenty-one demands, which have already become null and void materially, and restore her rights and interests in Manchuria, Mongolia and Shantung to China without any condition. And thus if Japan should come to such a decisive conclusion as to render a clean sheet all her special rights and interest, which she has hitherto secured in China, Four Hundred Million of the Chinese people would express their heartfelt gratitude, with the result that the foundation for eternal friendship between Japan and China will be soundly established, and that Japan's questions such as her surplus population and the supply of raw materials would be solved at once. This is indeed the way for Japan to abandon unstable small gains before her eyes and to obtain lasting inexhaustible profits ahead. Japan is now standing at the crossroads, whether to make China an eternal enemy or a bosom friend. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the

> Government and intelligent persons of Japan will take the above statement into full consideration."

Before leaving Mr. Wu, I said with much sincerity that America was deeply interested in the success of the Republic, and admired the spirit animating the new China, and I told him of the impressions I had already received by my visit to Canton, which were highly favorable.

Members of the Cabinet were beginning to arrive, and when we took our leave the venerable man was loath to let us go. He showed the greatest cordiality, and my friends, commenting on his unfailing memory and good nature, told me that Mr Wu had often stated that he would live to be One Hundred. This gives him a quarter of a century to work out his plans for China.

Then we went to the palace of the Provincial Government. A man described as one of the strong personalities of the new movement, Governor Chen Chung Mong, appears about Fifty years of age, with deep-set dark eyes from which calm intelligence beams as the interpreter repeats his words. He proved a voluminous talker, and over the tea cups he discussed the relations of China and America. I recall he drew a parallel between America and England by observing that America should not fear the prosperity of China, as England had feared the growth of the United States. Both, he said, help each other. Development means a greater market, and hence a greater assurance of peace and common benefits.

In the hands of such men, the Southern Government seems to have every advantage over the Northern Government. It possesses a patriotic force and a progressive purpose. The young, educated men rally to it: while the

Peking Government is held by all as disreputable and possibly corrupt. It is tainted in the popular belief by the sinister hand of Japan. Conditions would be chaotic, with great armies in the field and no authority anywhere, were it not for the fact that the Chinese have, independently of all governments, at all times, a way of settling disputes among themselves and preserving their social organization.

Canton, China, December 11, 1921.

ARTICLE VIII

Poppy Peddlers for Pay; How Public Opinion is Confused on Japanese Problems

I HAVE have been reading the magazine press on shipboard and I find that American publications are in circulation all over the world, and many of our better class periodicals give the casual reader wrong impressions of international questions, where sides are taken and conflict is waged. One writer of no celebrity recently printed a footnote to his article on Japanese activities, claiming that his authority for most of what he wrote was the former American Ambassador to Japan. He ridiculed the Californians, who are poignantly suffering from the invasion of their soil by non-assimilables, and stated that when they cried out in pain they disturbed diplomatic relations; that they showed anger and did not in distress behave stoically. The American who suffers an injury should speak out. The Californian is the exposed warder by the Golden Gate. It is his patriotic duty to warn his countrymen. Who fails to pro-

test wrong is craven or content—the Californian is neither. It will be found that the average propagandist is either hypnotized or hired.

> "Such smiling rogues as these smooth every passion
> Renege, affirm, and turn their halcyon beaks
> With every gale and vary of their masters."

I have a very distinct impression of our former ambassador as an honorable but misguided man. First, soon after his arrival in Tokio, I was advised by a friend there, who had personal knowledge, that he had been promptly put under the spell of the cherry blossom and chrysanthemum. He could see no good in America's contention, and conceived a new policy of his own. Then I met him in July, 1920, in the anteroom of the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, and there discovered that he was absent from his post to silence platform declarations on the Japanese question. I appealed to the Platform Committee, and Messrs. Bainbridge Colby, W. Bourke Cockran and Wm. J. Bryan gave me satisfactory assurances, and then they made for the Democracy a stronger plank than the one already in the Republican declaration of principles and purposes.

Then again, I found in January, 1921, that the ambassador, still absent from his post, was negotiating a treaty with the Japanese Ambassador Shidahara in Washington, and, during the absence of Secretary of State Colby, in South America, seemed to have his way. The return of the Secretary was announced, and the California Senators and Representatives, much alarmed, asked to see the result of the joint Ambassadorial labors. It provided in effect

that California should be turned over to the resident Japanese by giving them property rights and other privileges. We appealed to Secretary Colby, who assured us that it had died aborning, and would never see the light of day.

This gentleman's inaptitude may also be better understood by the character of a Japanese whom he commended to me by a personal letter when I was in Washington a few years ago. This man called by appointment, brought with him a vicious-looking bodyguard (I judged from his appearance and manner), and then proposed as a solution of the Japanese question in California that the Japanese farmers be segregated in the river deltas and be given the Imperial Valley in the southern part of the State, where, he said, white men could not work on account of the heat. It happens that white men have developed it and made it, perhaps, the most productive area in the world. It is hot, but the Japanese say that they do not covet the Philippine Islands, whose heat is no more enervating. Men get accustomed to heat where the returns are abundant.

The ambassador never did return to his post. I learn now that he was discredited in all his undertakings. After having been sent to Siberia by the department, his recommendations were disapproved. His well-meaning friendship for Japan had apparently over stepped the diplomatic lines, and reached a degree of intensity that caused a cessation of confidence on the part of Miss Columbia and her Uncle Sam. Now this gentleman is inspiring magazine articles! I claim that he has no valid credentials to the court of public opinion.

It has been frequently observed in American political life that public opinion is the final court of appeals. Indeed,

that does not sufficiently convey the power of public opinion. It operates throughout the entire social and political organization. It is a tribunal always in session. To corrupt it is treasonable, and yet there are professional writers who, when they have attained a reputation and won the public confidence, hire themselves out in one cause or another to pervert the popular judgment. If the object is the increased sale of baking powder, it is a matter of little importance; if it is the design of a political cabal to win elections, it is more serious; but, if it is in behalf of an enemy country, or even a potentially possible enemy, seeking a silent conquest, it ranks with the most nefarious and contemptible of crimes.

It is notorious that Germany and now Japan have carried on such a propaganda within the United States. Japan has its Bureau in New York with voluble and well-drilled talkers to advocate Japan's policies in order to win the United States without the cost of striking a blow. It has on its payroll distinguished journalists, publicists and authors whose business it is to make "the worse appear the better reason;" and, so skillfully is this done, at critical times, that the hired propagandist already handsomely compensated, is paid a second time as a contributor by well-edited and honorable papers and magazines. I see syndicated letters from a man who won a reputation as a contemporary historian during the war, phrased so deftly that one is half consciously convinced. The highest rates are paid for the less obvious and the most subtle arguments.

Recently in a leading American magazine the contributor began, setting forth with virtuous indignation the

encroachments of Japan, and then, reserving his broadsides, "showed convincingly" that the United States was the greater international aggressor and merited Japan's suspicions and enmity. Then he entered California, and, like Sampson, slew the offending natives by swinging the weapon for which he had apparently congenital aptitutde. But this one gets only the pay of a second-rater, because, he has no particular reputation, enjoys little confidence and carelessly let the ugly cat out of the bag. "His schemes are glass, the very sun shines through them!" This man said that so obvious is the injustice done by California in denying aliens ineligible to citizenship, resident of California, the right freely to purchase agricultural lands, as other aliens do, that it is not worth while discussing it at all. And yet, this is the whole California case which he cannot answer and, therefore, thus glibly dismisses it. Does not such an attitude exhaust patience?

There is no reason why Japanese should be given this privilege, since, first, it is denied in Japan to foreigners (or, whether or not, no one wants to buy agricultural land in Japan, and Japan, therefore, is incapable of adequate reciprocity). Secondly, her subjects, if permitted, like other aliens (who are, per contra, actually encouraged and desired) to acquire agricultural land would, within a short time, drive the American farmer from the soil of his country. The land law of California not only prohibits purchase, but prohibits sale. The fact, which this superservicable propagandist ignores, to earn his stipend and betray his race (by misleading public opinion, the permanent tribunal, the highest court) is what Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the islands of the sea have discovered, namely,

that the presence of Japanese, not to speak of their acquisition of the soil, is incompatible with white civilization and free institutions.

We welcome white men, aliens though they be, for economical, racial and national reasons affecting the life and perpetuity of the country; and, for the same reason, we reject the Oriental alien. If he has acquired property under the law, it is his, and the whole power of the government will stand behind him; but California tells him politely to acquire no more land. Otherwise, the white man cannot survive. Is not the white man's duty his self-preservation?

I have read much that was anti-American from pens otherwise of fair repute. One correspondent was infected by his environment when he traveled with "big business" magnates last year to Japan, and was made a social lion, and promptly trapped and stuffed for exhibition purposes; and he has made an exhibition of himself ever since. Another, living in luxury in an Oriental city, is pointed out by the residents as an example of Japan's prodigality.

Japan has a right to buy talent to prepare food for thought, but, as under the strict provisions of our pure food laws, the article should be marked indicating its contents and origin, and where it is made and for whom, and, if practicable, the cost of manufacture.

There should be a list prepared of hired propagandists for the benefit of the reputable press and magazines of the country. They, as well as their readers, should know what they are buying. At the head of the columns should be the caption "ADVERTISEMENT" or "PROPAGANDA." This would protect the public, and, perhaps, prosper the editor. It

would be clean money, however, for the purpose is declared, and no one need accept the goods offered for sale as necessarily reliable.

"The people are always right"; that is, "In the multitude of counsel there is wisdom."—Yes, but that is when perversion and poison are barred. A little poppy from the Orient too often induces sleep and dreams of pleasant unreality.

Japan has skillfully prepared the ground for the Conference and hopes to reap some advantage, just as she has wheedled the government of the United States in the "Gentleman's Agreement" and the Lansing-Ishii recognition of her aggressions in the far East.

ARTICLE IX

Peking

THERE are a surprising number of daily papers, many published in English, in the principal cities of China and Japan. They print dispatches concerning the doings of the Conference and are read. But their editorial opinions are biased. Papers are owned by interests to put out their propaganda. The result is a confused state of the public mind.

The organization of a republic in such circumstances is difficult. The masses are not informed, and again the suffrage is closely limited. Elections have been discontinued by the military bosses. There are those who predict that China will become a constitutional monarchy, like England, when the young crown prince grows up. He is now living in a reserved corner of the Forbidden City, where visitors now troop unrestrained. There is a rare Museum there of Chinese objects of art and porcelains. The private grounds and palaces, once the property of the deposed royal family, are open to all.

There is no authority in Peking. The grass is growing on

the tiles of the temples, and the show city of Cathay is crumbling to inevitable ruin. I was reassured by an official that "every fifty years an overhauling is made," and the day of repair (but not of wrath) is a long way off.

Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, was originally the seat of the same Manchu dynasty which, until recently, ruled China from Peking. At Mukden I saw the same conditions of decay. The fine palace, once the scene of olden splendor, is the prey of rust and rodents, while the Japanese, who are now in the business of "silent penetration," are building a new city, adjoining and connected, for their administration offices and residences. You can see with your eyes the encroachments, but the busy tide of the Chinese city ebbs and flows unheeding. The grip of Japan is on Manchuria. Official China protests, but the absorption goes on and the Powers are apparently acquiescent. The people sullenly submit.

A secret service "reporter" asks me in the railway station to sit for a photograph. I yield on condition he mail me a copy. He did not forget.

I take the train, and, after a restless night with inferior accommodations, arrive in Peking, the capital city. Trains of camels move by, and dust fills the air, cold with approaching winter. Rickshaw men flit to and fro. These hardy and fleet men are harnessed to a two-wheeled cart. It is a strange sensation to be drawn by humans, but they consider it play work, and they think only of the remuneration they receive. The Grand Hotel de Pekin is a pretentious hostelry, with spacious halls and an excellent orchestra which plays during dinner and for dancing afterwards. It is all very modern.

I gathered resident members of the American Colony to the number of fifteen at a dinner, Thanksgiving eve, and managed to get wild turkeys with which to regale them. There were men there from the Embassies, the Consortium Committee and the banks. Incidentally, I asked a wag whether I should not have invited a certain Chinese, whom I had met in the company of some of my compatriots. He said: "The ladies, strange to say, look upon him with disfavor. He has just taken his fifth wife, and is doubtless sufficiently entertained at home."

There seems to be found a never-ending theme in China's constantly recurring symptoms of disease, what the international surgeons will do to her, or the Americans do for her. They have lopped off her offending members frequently, which only seems to aggravate the trouble. She tries to dismiss the doctors, but they camp in her ante-room and, for the most part, prescribe bloodletting.

There is at present a financial crisis. The banks of China and of Communications are in distress. The merchants will not accept the banknotes. The government owns stock in the banks and transacts its business through them, and has drained them by excessive loans. The soldiers and police are clamoring for overdue salaries. The foreign banks will not help because they can see only a loss, and do not care whether the government survives the strain, because, as they say, "No government could be worse."

Nothing could be more chaotic. A scholarly gentleman, Mr. Hau Shih-Chang, who is called the president, lives in the official residence, and does only what he is told to do by two generals, Chang Tsu Lin and Tsio Kun, who divide the honors and emoluments. The Congress has been long

dispersed, and some members meet in a remote corner of the Republic and support a rival government. After all other devices failed, the Department of Finance resorted to an original method of establishing the value of their discredited bills. It ordered the arrest of all merchants who refused to accept them, and marched them through the streets labeled and tagged for their contumacy.

There is practically no restraint on the banks in issuing paper money, and few of them are solvent. The foreign banks also exercise a wide latitude in issuing currency, but their managers are doubtless prudent. The Chinese do not dare to examine them, and they are amenable only to the laws of their home countries and the terms of their charters.

China is very rich in resources, but China is in chains. Forced loans have mortgaged her to the powers.

An appeal was made by the government to the diplomatic corps last week to urge Sir Francis Aglen, Inspector General of Customs, to liberate the customs surplus, which now amounts to ten million dollars, and deposit it to the credit of the government. They declined to act, Sir Francis saying later that he held all funds derived from customs under executive order of the President for the single purpose of securing payment of Boxer and pre-Boxer debts. There is no other authority than the President, and he could cancel his original order, but there is no likelihood of his doing so, because it would destroy the last vestige of China's credit.

The powers permit China to impose a general import tax of not more than 5% She has a salt monopoly and has borrowed heavily against it until it has become a joke in

financial circles. Usurers loan and contract for not less than 20% interest and pounce down on "the salt surplus" whenever it appears; and it is difficult to establish priorities. There is neither responsible nor honest rule in China, and the foreign governments are compelled to guard the lives and property of their nationals.

From the windows of my hotel I overlook the "Diplomatic City" where each legation is entrenched behind high stone walls and each maintains a barracks for its soldiers, who come out to play hockey and Rugby in the ample esplanade between the walls and the public road. I see tall radio masts rising from the American compound, and I observe the American marines on duty under Colonel Karmany.

The legations all live in fear of another "Boxer" rebellion. The word is derived from the society which instigated it, "The Society of Harmonious Fists," which was bent upon redeeming China, but only forged more tightly her chains. The indemnity imposed was about Three Hundred Million Dollars, and further encroachments were made upon her soil. The Dowager Empress at the time sent an order by telegram to "Kill all foreigners." The telegraphers who humanely interpreted it to "Save" all foreigners, paid for their temerity with their lives. A monument, I am told, has been erected to their memory in or near Tientsin.

Foreigners, as a rule, say they like Peking, and rank it first among Oriental official posts. The American legation is surrounded by walls, and there are several good buildings within the enclosure called the Compound. The Minister's residence is spacious, and one afternoon when Dr. Schurman entertained, the Marine Band discoursed dance music

and gave American color to the gathering composed of many and diverse nationalities. The dance is a great leveler, and the universal tea-pot serves very well on social occasions for melting purposes.

The reason why American women like China as a place of residence is, I believe, due to the fact that servants are so good and their wages small. The woman at home who pays One Hundred Dollars to a cook or butler can have twenty better servants here for the same money. I lunched at a private house, the residence of the Manager of an American branch bank, and he revealed to me the cost of living. He pays little for food, and only five American dollars a month to his household servants, out of which they lodge and find themselves. The house is charming. It is built on a plan common in China. From a very narrow street a large door opens into a corridor which, with offices, is reserved for guards and servants; then you pass across a small court surrounded by a structure containing bedrooms; then still another court where the reception and dining rooms are located. Finally, after lunch, we were led across a third court to a library, which in the older days was used by the native owner as the women's quarters.

One rarely sees women in the streets in China, but in Japan the women and the children are everywhere in evidence. Sanitation is practically unknown, and there is a fifty per cent statistical record of infant mortality in China. No one, they say, escapes contagion of some kind in Peking. The foreigner is always running the gauntlet of invisible foes. Peking dust is so deadly that someone has said it should alone be capable of disinfecting itself, but it does not. The prudent traveler is inoculated against

everything—smallpox, typhoid and typhus—and then guards himself with masks and handkerchiefs as he walks or rides through the streets. I have read a serious statement by a medical authority that the devastating "flu" epidemic was carried to Europe during the war by two hundred thousand Chinese transported from this region. For this reason, Peking is less attractive to visitors than its monuments would justify. It is really four cities with towering gates, and its buildings, palace and pagoda, home and hovel, typify the character of old China at its best.

To me the most impressive thing, which stands by itself in the world and makes the ruins of Roman Aqueducts hide their diminished heads, is Chang Cheng, the Great Wall of China. We took a train one morning over an exclusively built and operated Chinese Railroad—how proud they are of it—and, after climbing up a tortuous grade in three hours, were told to engage donkeys or chair-bearing men, or walk, and ascend to a point where the wall is accessible. It looks like a monster boa, crawling and grasping the barren mountain ranges, and seems to go on indefinitely. Two thousand years ago it was constructed to keep out the northern barbarians. The wall is twenty-three feet high and ten feet thick and extends more than fifteen hundred miles. It is stupendous! It is said that every man in China was required to contribute half his time to this work of national defense. But alas, China is now invaded from the sea, and is unable to defend herself, yet the only modern defense, gun powder, she invented! Perhaps she may some day learn how. Just as Japan was instructed by the Germans, Japan may in turn become the instructor of her neighbors, and combine to enforce the slogan "Asia for

Asiatics." Listen what a Japanese organ, smarting under the failure of Japanese diplomacy and Lord Northcliff's Peking speech—of which more anon—has to say:

> "If the Japanese people are brought to the verge of asphyxiation politically and economically being hard pressed by world-wide anti-Japanism disseminated by such a powerful organ of speech as the London Times, and, becoming desperate, they may alter their national policy for the Far East from its very foundation and unite with the Chinese, the Indians, the Mohammedans, the Egyptians, the Negroes and even the Russian Bolsheviks in a colossal alliance, what will be the future of world peace and the principle of the superiority of the white races, especially of the Anglo-Saxons?"

This is alarming enough. When China and Japan unite, they will be formidable, and such men as Lathrop, Stoddard and Madison Grant see in the light of history no reason whey there should not be such a combination on racial lines. The battle of Mukden will some day be regarded as one of the decisive victories of the world. There the white man's army of Russia yielded to the yellow and brown, and gave the Orientals a certain confidence in themselves which has since led to a succession of Japanese aggressions. England, fearing Russia, had allied herself with Japan, thinking only of temporary protection, and gave the yellows and the browns a wedge to pry open the doors of universal empire. Let us leave this speculation to history.

I was present and sat beside Lord Northcliff at the Anglo-American luncheon given him in Peking on November seventeenth. There his Lordship condemned the Anglo-

Japanese alliance, and declared against its renewal. He put his objection on the ground that it certainly estranged America. In his enthusiasm for British and American co-operation against the yellow peril, which he did not mention, but which he meant, he asked "Why should not England give to America the use of Singapore as a naval base in case she became involved with any Asiatic power?" That was all plain enough, and irritated Japan to ill-concealed bitterness, and, as we have seen, to retaliatory threats. If she has not her way, she will organize Asia against Europe, and the Western powers had better take early cognizance of this. Either they should blockade Japan, and starve her commerce until released by pledges of good behavior, or take her into camp and gingerly feed her vanity and soothe her pride, like a poor relation.

Lord Northcliff is a genial and impulsive man of about sixty, florid and hearty, whose powerful voice in the world has a true American ring. He would save England by cementing Anglo-American relations, but has no patience with the self-sufficient Briton who does not see the changing fortunes of a deeply disturbed world. He thinks the natural alignment should be on racial lines, and that white men must work together to protect and preserve their benignant supremacy in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Peking, March 5, 1922

ARTICLE X

Philippine Independence

THE "EMPRESS OF RUSSIA," the big liner of the Canadian Pacific, and the "Golden State" sailed out of the Shanghai roadstead together for Manila. The "Empress," thinking she was pursued, picked up her skirts and sped away. The "Golden State," on a coal allowance limitation, avoided the race, but prudently steered clear of the Formosa Channel, dangerous in thick weather, and took to the open sea, the longer route, yet docked at the capital of the Philippines with Captain Yardly on the bridge, practically at the same time.

It was my first visit to the Islands, and I recalled the stirring days of 1898, when the troops from the north, the south, the east and the west marched through the streets of San Francisco to embark on the Pacific transports amidst tearful multitudes. It was the first armed expedition sent by the United States to a foreign land, and involved a radical departure from our national policy. What was to come of it?

The citizens of San Francisco knew there was a Spanish

Fleet in the Pacific and were naturally apprehensive about an attack, but as soon as the news of Admiral Dewey's victory in Manila Bay reached our shores, they realized they were not without defenders, and Dewey sprang in a night to the stature of a hero and was acclaimed by all Americans *sans peur et sans reproche.* San Francisco erected a monument to him, but San Francisco of all American cities, I believe, stood alone.

Admiral Dewey often spoke to me in after years of his personal feelings of love and gratitude for the City by the Golden Gate; but his life was embittered by the frost, the chilling frost, which fell upon his fair dreams of popular recognition. At one time, he had packed his belongings to leave America forever, when a single note of kindness expressed in a New York paper, justly stating the obligations of his country to his valor and skill, turned his rebellious thought aside. He deserved better of his countrymen.

I also here recall the intrepid and ingenious Funston—the best "fighting man" America has produced in modern times, who won merited renown in ending the revolution in the Philippines by the capture of Aguinaldo, just as Dewey, by his prowess, had ended the power of Spain. Irony of fate! They are gone, but Aguinaldo, reconstructed, lives in ease and obscurity, a farmer in Luzon—productive, no longer destructive.

As our ship passed Corregidor Island, now bristling with American guns, my mind reverted to the early morning, twenty-three years before, when our little fleet took the chances of torpedoes and shore batteries and sped gallantly on to the shambles of Cavite.

It seems to be the judgment of contemporary history

that the Americans in all these subsequent years have done a good work.

The sentimental have often deplored the necessity of disturbing Mother Spain, whose bairns had outgrown her maternal instincts, which, indeed, seemed to have dried up. But youth has yearnings incomprehensible to age The Philipinos rebelled because they were tied to a corpse, and welcomed the virile western cohorts, who were, they believed, more concerned about democracy than territorial expansion. Spain was doomed as a dominating power. Indeed, a contributor to the Atlantic Monthly (November, 1921) stated that Viscount Kaneko had told him that some years prior to the Spanish-American War, Spain offered the Islands to Japan for Eight Million Dollars Gold, which Japan declined.

America paid Twenty Millions after the conquest, but the conquest hurt, and the money, welcome to the Spanish purse, was no salve for Spanish pride. The "conquest" has cost Uncle Sam a half a billion dollars to date! The King of Spain recently told an American Senator that Spain still harbored hostility to the United States because war was declared for the blowing up of the "Maine," and that a Board of Engineers appointed by the United States had found that the explosion was not from without but from within; and that the United States neither had the honor nor sportsmanship to avow it. I took the pains to investigate this in Washington, and learned from the Navy Department and the President himself that, on the contrary, the report showed an explosion on the outside, which had also been communicated to the magazines on the inside; but this does not make both controversalists right, nor America

wrong. The plucky Alfonso of Spain should not be allowed to remain antagonistic if that be his only complaint. It is stated that Spain is better off materially without colonies, which sapped her civic and military resources, and, as administered, composed a machine for the creation of enemies.

But America has assumed her problem in the Philippines. How is she working out? "Watchman, what o' the night?"

After more than twenty years, educationally and politically, wonders have been wrought, and, at the pace of progress established, another twenty years, when the fuller effect of education in the oncoming generation may be observed, will more surely determine the ability of the Filipinos to take care of themselves. They have studied hard to qualify for independence under the Jones Act, which is their political bible. They are naming their great bridge over the Passic River after Jones! That act of the Congress of the United States passed in 1916 promised independence whenever the people established a stable government. They were given, and now enjoy, an all Filipino legislature—Senate and House—and they fill all of the minor offices, and most of the important places, But the Governor, appointed by Washington, holds control by the veto. Just as the people were looking forward to a complete demonstration of their fitness, the National Bank of the Philippines, under a native director, made a scandalous showing. Perhaps forty million pesos will be lost, and the entire capital (ten million pesos) of the Shanghai branch, will be wiped out.

I happened to be visiting the Filipino Senate the day when Mr. E. W. Wilson, sent by Washington, was testi-

fying on the condition of the bank. Mr. Wilson, an experienced San Francisco banker, had been called in, as a surgeon might have been, to lop off diseased parts and and restore the patient to health. The former practitioner, now ousted, will probably go to jail for malpractice. All this I learned from contact with the situation, and I realized it was a hard blow to the Nationalists who were eagerly endeavoring to make a good showing.

To understand this bank scandal, one would have to be familiar with the Filipino character, simple and confiding, without guile, and not conspicuously endowed with the sense of responsibility. A resident gave me this story as a personal experience to illustrate just what happened. He said: "I had a young Filipino in my employ and entrusted him with fifty pesos to pay some petty bills about town. At the end of a few weeks I asked him for a statement, and he could not account for the six missing pesos. He frankly admitted that he had given them to a friend. But I asked, 'Why did you do that?' and he said his amigo asked him for them, and how could one refuse his amigo?' But I told him it was not his to give, and it slowly dawned on him that I was right."

It will thus be seen that such easy and unstandardized ways are not conducive to either private or public morality. The idea of *meum et tuum* is not firmly differentiated, and, until it is, government itself will fail for lack of moral sustenance. The old Spanish government was so corrupt, the administrators having been sent out to the colonies to enrich themselves, with no sense of obligation to the native populations, that the traditions of all government have been tainted; and the unfortunate Filipinos have suc-

ceeded to a bad inheritance. But this is only a passing phase, easily curable in the light of the new day. Whatever may be said of American administration of the Islands, it is clean, and no other condition would be tolerated by the President or the American Congress.

I got a clear impression from my confidential conversations that the most patriotic Filipinos do not believe, whatever may be their public professions, that independence should be given at this time, because the people are not yet able to conduct free and honest elections and administer the affairs of State in a satisfactory manner; that the measure of power they now have is ample for the present and will serve to firmly pave the way to an ultimate capacity for independence; that the government control by the United States is in no wise oppressive, but greatly helpful, and the Islands, without the United States, would be an easy prey to the acquisitiveness of other nations.

As I spoke at a luncheon given in Manila to the visiting Californians by the Rotary Club, in the presence of Governor Leonard Wood, this thought occurred to me, and I hotly expressed it: "Why should the Filipinos, enjoying so large a share of popular rights and military protection under the American flag want to detach themselves? Is it not an honor to be so associated? 'Who is so base who would not be a Roman?' As a mere business proposition, what partnership could be more advantageous? 'A dwarf may have a giant for a friend and thus be master of a giant's strength.'"

The Filipinos have no deep-rooted traditions of an ancient culture and government as the Hindus and Chinese

and so transition from one stage of development to another, which would commend itself to their reason and judgment, would be easy.

Just as Hawaii is a territory of the United States, and would soon be, were it not for the Japanese incubus, eligible for statehood, so might the Filipinos aspire to join the Union ultimately as a "Sovereign State." That might be acceptable should Congress consider it favorably, but it involves more solicitude for the United States than for the Philippines. In two score years the population of the Islands will, it is estimated, reach twenty million—now ten million. Notwithstanding a voting qualification of literacy or property, about half the eligible male population are now voters, namely one million three hundred thousand.

In their state of enlightenment, would their electoral vote for President and representation in Congress disturb conditions at home? On the other hand, if they are capable of maintaining a government of their own, might they not be trusted with the status of a territory and later with statehood? A State, once erected, however, is indestructible, and, should they get troublesome, how could we get rid of them?

The British Empire has had these questions to solve, and failed because it would not share its constitution with its dependencies. The original idea from the days of the East India Company was exploitation. But now in recent years, Australia and Canada are content because, free at home, they lean on England abroad. In her trouble, which was also their trouble, they sprang to her defense. So the "Empire" has passed since the war into a "Common-

wealth" of practically equal partners. Ireland, unlike the other Dominions, has a keen national consciousness, based on an ancient history, language and literature, and would perhaps prefer to be detached, but prudent counsels whisper that the British Commonwealth is now an association, not a despotism, and that unity may preserve permanently world peace, which is the element of civilization, and under which, in a free competition, Ireland, with all her resources and talents—often misdirected by feuds and futile expressions of hate—would thrive. It looks like the augury for a better world.

So, many questions suggest themselves with respect to the Filipinos: Are they thoughtful as well as thankful? What will they finally decide to do? What shall we do?

I observed in the Chamber of the House of Representatives in Manila a large allegorical painting representing a woman in mourning, appealing to an ideal figure of Columbia, who approaches benignantly bearing a sword and offering succor, while children, like angels, in the circumbient air, bear the American flag. It is inspiring, and cannot but appeal to this imaginative and affectionate people. In their heart of hearts could they aspire to a place more sacred and secure than in the galaxy of the Union? If their martyred leader could be consulted, might he not be disposed to say, "Rally, my children, to the Stars and Stripes." It is not unreasonable to speculate that the national movement may take that form. Will not the treaty with Ireland and the experience of Australia and Canada carry a lesson of prudence, or tell of independence by gradation?

An American pioneer in this far land complained that

the people at home had no interest in the Philippines, which is substantially true, and that is why they are indifferent, generally speaking, whether independence be granted or not. Many would doubtless be glad to cut them adrift, believing that they, militarily, are an exposure and will be sure to breed trouble. Japan could take them tomorrow by landing an army, but is not likely to do so except in case of war. In other words, for the Japanese, they are not worth provoking a war to possess. If forcibly taken, she could not, in the long run, hold them while the title was in the United States. The Filipino leaders affect to think, however, that the United States would shield them after surrendering sovereingty. That might be harshly said to be one of the delusions which the unsympathetic contend unfits them for practical rule.

The day I arrived in Manila the report of General Wood and former Governor Forbes was released for publication. It was the result of an exhaustive investigation and hearings held throughout the Islands. The report says that the people are divided on the subject between American control, or independence with American protection; and it concludes as follows:

> "We feel that with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their Army and Navy, and leaving the Islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages. In conclusion, we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a dis-

tinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty, were we to withdraw from the Islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government.

"RECOMMENDATIONS: 1. We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands.

2. We recommend that the responsible representative of the United States, the Governor-General, have authority commensurate with the responsibilities of his position. In case of failure to secure the necessary corrective action by the Philippine Legislature, we recommend that Congress declare null and void legislation which has been enacted diminishing, limiting, or dividing the authority granted by the Governor General under Act of Congress No. 240 known as the Jones Bill.

"3. We recommend that in case of a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate in the confirmation of appointments that the President of the United States be authorized to make and render the final decision.

"4. We recommend that under no circumstances should the American government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority."

I had two delightful occasions, separately, during my brief visit, to talk with Governor Leonard Wood and Hon. Manuel Quezon, the president of the Senate, and the virtual leader of the people. General Wood is kindly and firm in his intercourse with the people, whose interests he studies with the pride of one who participated conspicuously in their redemption from the arbitrary rule of Spain.

Mr. Quezon is a fiery patriot, inflamed with that holy zeal which distinguishes all revolutionary leaders. At his table, where he had invited thirty leading Filipino statesmen and their ladies to meet me, I happened to ask him of whom the various monuments in the city were commemorative. When he came to Rizal his eyes burned with added brilliance, dimmed perhaps by involuntary emotion. Rizal, the Filipino rebel, was murdered by Spain under circumstances of despicable treachery just before America intervened, and this incident doubtless gave vitality to the Aguinaldo insurrection, because the unhappy people felt that they could trust nobody but themselves.

Quezon wants independence, and in himself typifies the cultured and capable citizen. No leader can ask for less, but no true leader, in the disturbed condition of the world, cannot but fear for his country if left alone. His is a difficult task, an embarrassing rôle. He made a short speech at the table expressing polite acknowledgment for what sympathetic support I gave in Congress to the regeneration of the Philippines.

At the board was the second man in command and influence, the speaker of the House of Representatives, Sorgio Osmena. The following night he made an important speech, favoring independence, but disappointed his friends by speaking in Spanish, when he is capable of speaking in English. It shows that twenty years of American education have not even qualified his auditors to follow the language of freedom as distinguised from what to them must be the language of despotism. This was a matter of newspaper comment the next day.

So far as I could gather from the press and the people

about me, the Forbes-Wood report was accepted as fair and progressive, but not conclusive. Quezon moved in the Senate to send a Commission to Washington to controvert its conclusions.

Before leaving Manila, I had lunch with General and Mrs. Wood at the famous "Malakananan," the palace of the Spanish governors. It is a large three-story building, extending to the very banks of the picturesque Passig, which runs madly by. In the great reception room old Spanish portraits still hang upon the walls and the atmosphere of the place is not changed since the olden days except in the democratic simplicity of the menage.

The responsibility of the government of the Philippines, so far as his office is concerned, is borne by General Wood's broad shoulders, and he has quietly settled down to the serious work of reconciling American control, even though it be only for the time being, to the greatest good of the Filipino people. The general disposition among the masses is unquestionably to co-operate.

Manila, March 12, 1922

ARTICLE XI

Sea and Sailors; Malaya, Singapore and Ceylon

WHEN ONE turns his back on the effete and moldy East and embarks upon the sea, he emerges as it were from the stifling past and finds freedom and grateful refreshment. From the interior of China, where men still wring beggarly support from a reluctant soil, and where superstition has condemned so much of the earth's surface for burial purposes, the ocean, ever youthful, opens its welcoming arms: "Time writes no wrinkles on thine azure brow!"

As the train haltingly moved through the province of Shantung, it seemed that half the ground consisted of mouldering mounds sacred against the plow, where the rude forefathers sleep and where the cult of ancestor-worship holds the slavish mind to strange beliefs respecting the dead. The poet says that all who tread the earth are but a handful to those who sleep within its bosom, and, indeed, if every man had had a raised mound, enshrined

by a pious purpose, agriculture would become an obsolete art, and we would all have to take our nourishment from the air.

Herbert Spencer asserts that all primitive religions have their origin in dreams; men "see things." In dreams, the living, for instance, fancy that they communicate with their dead. It is as natural, certainly, as sun-worship, and in all creeds more fantastic things are constantly accepted. So it would be just as well to indulge the heathen if it did not interfere with the food supply and lead the maudlin Congress of the United States to vote the money of the sane and sanitary American to relieve the pangs of self-inflicted hunger. Famine, perhaps, should be the penalty for superstition.

The fascination of the sea arises from its eternal freshness. It typifies as well the spirit of freedom and adventure. Borne upon its broad expanse, the hampering hindrances of man-made "laws and regulations" are dissipated like foam and spray. Three miles from shore the Captain is King, and he, bred to the sea, is always a personality cheerful and liberal, who believes in the good old maxim, "Who governs least, governs best," or the lawless rhyme:

> "Ship me somewhere east of Suez, where the best is like the worst,
> Where there ain't no ten commandments, an' a man can raise a thirst."

And yet it would be an injustice to leave such an impression wholly unqualified. For fifty days I have been sailing the sea. As a matter of fact in all important respects there is no better, good-natured discipline than on board a ship. No

place is cleaner or more orderly; no work better nor more systematically done. Every man is at his post, and performs his task. It must, indeed, be a fine training for a city boy. Why should not our boys, when they will not take to the soil, take to the sea?

The peoples of all lands bordering the water, except native Americans, look to the sea and go out upon it. Perhaps it is because we have been too busy subduing the virgin country where only one hundred and ten millions are thinly spread over a vast area, calling for development. In China there are four hundred million and in India three hundred and fifty million. They overflow.

But commerce is the handmaiden of material growth. We had attained a certain evolutionary position at the time of the Spanish war, when our destiny apparently required us to look across the Pacific for new markets; and that is perhpas the secret of our country's desire to hold the Philippines. It gives us an interest and a voice in Far Eastern affairs, and helps to justify the existence of a merchant marine.

When, during the World War, the United States determined on a policy of building and operating ships for the transportation of troops and supplies, and, ultimately, for commerce, it entered the lists of world competition. It cannot turn back. When Commodore Perry, doubtless following the instructions of President Millard Fillmore, coerced Japan in 1854 to open her doors to trade, the spirit of commerce, and, perhaps, good will and humanity, inspired the youthful Republic.

But it was a bold step, and, notwithstanding the frequent platitudes, where oratorical unction smears the in-

cident with "ancient friendship," the Japanese hate us for it. They say smilingly that "we introduced them to the Western World," but it was very much the same way that a policeman might introduce a malefactor to the "third degree." A Japanese authority says: "The total intention of Perry's fleet was to threaten us and to take the Okinawa Islands by force in order to coerce this country if we did not obey his orders." This unfortunate move was the mother of the Japanese Navy and the cause of the ferment in the Pacific! Japan should have been opened by a diplomatic key, or not at all.

In "Mississippi" Bay, near Uraga, Japan, I saw a monument commemorating the happy occasion! (The "Mississippi" was one of Perry's ships.) But the wound still rankles. The Japanese governmental railway administration has issued an official book (1914), which tells the story with a neatly turned "flail to its tail," rounded into caustic verse. It reads as follows:

> "Uraga is of special importance in modern history, for here arrived the American missions sent to Japan to demand the opening of the country to foreign commerce and intercourse, and here appeared the "black ships" of the United States, rudely awaking the inhabitants of these islands from the slumber of self-contented seclusion in which they had been indulging for centuries.
>
> A storm on Nippon one wet night
> Drove black ships by eight hundred manned;
> In black and scarlet shirtsleeves tight
> Were clad this bold barbarian band.
>
> The niggers toil down in the hold,
> In cabin sits the Captain grave,

The shaggy-bearded strangers bold,
Shout "Hip, hurrah!" across the wave.

Then to America they sped,
With daikon (radishes) large as souvenirs,
As farewell gifts received instead,
(Symbolical of scorn and jeers!)

"The 'black ships' mentioned in the song were not those of Commodore Perry; they referred to the two sloops COLUMBUS and VINCENNES, which, under the command of Commodore Biddle, appeared in the summer of 1846, carrying a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan. The sloops were ordered to wait for a reply near Uraga. The Shogunite Government, full of arrogance engendered by complete ignorance of the state of affairs in the west, rejected the American offer, and even peremptorily bade the Commodore leave the coast. Taught by this experience, the second mission entrusted to Commodore Perry seven years later was conducted with greater caution and a bolder disply of force. He entered Uraga with two frigates (SUSQUEHANNA and MISSISSIPPI) and two sloops (SARATOGA and PLYMOUTH) on the 8th of July, 1853."

Refused consideration, Perry departed to return the following year, when he brushed aside the protestations of the Shogunites, who, like the American Indians, as confided to Columbus, did not want to be discovered.

The ostensible purpose of the Perry expedition was principally to protect the lives of shipwrecked sailors who had been maltreated in Japan. In 1849 the shipwrecked crew of an American vessel had been imprisoned for seventeen months, until released by an American sloop of war. Their offense was landing on the sacred shores of Nippon, although washed up by the sea, without a passport! They

have since retaliated by unloading coolies with passports on us, which we are bound, by the "Gentleman's Agreement" to accept in advance!

This was the beginning of our Pacific "Imperial Policy." We wandered away from home to Japan, Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam and Samoa; and now we have warships and transports and a great passenger and freight service which will carry our trade to many lands, and, at the same time, perhaps train our young men as navigators and sailors.

During the war the S. S. "Iris" was maintained in San Francisco with a staff of instructors to teach semanship, and now, I believe, it has been wheedled away to Seattle! The Shipping Board should establish such schools in every large port. In the long run the trained personnel is the determining factor for success. The British "Peninsular and Oriental" steamers, on which I have traveled about ten thousand miles, and which serve all far eastern points, have a fleet of about seventy ships, each with from four to seven apprentices who hope to become commanders some day. They work on the voyages four years without pay; and, on the training ship anchored in the Thames, two years' work is equivalent to one at sea. But the crews of these ships are now made up of picturesque Lascars, decorated with bits of color on turban and sash, wearing skirts and going without foot covering. They receive, as a minimum monthly wage, thirty rupees and found. (There are 3.40 rupees to the dollar.) They come from the mixed races on the west coast of India near Bombay. Two non-sailors are always employed with them, one to read the Koran and the other to slaughter the cattle, for their Mo-

hammedan creed so enjoins. The English officers, in case of emergency, are supposed to give orders in Hindustani—which does not diminish the risks of travel.

Our American Pacific Mail Ships have Chinese crews to meet this competition. Few white men find the work of common sailor or diningroom steward open to them. This can all be gradually changed if the work is made attractive by good quarters and food and better pay. At this time, however, the companies are incurring losses, and one of the P. & O. officers told me his ship lost one hundred thousand dollars on its last run, due to high costs of operation and slackening trade. The captain of an American liner informed me, in explanation of a shortage in his crew, that twenty-four Chinese deserted on his previous trip to San Francisco, each forfeiting five hundred dollars cash, presumably to the government. The Japanese also desert from Japanese ships in our ports, and it will probably be necessary to raise the bond to at least two thousand dollars (although many would pay that sum for admission). Deserters should also be promptly apprehended and deported. To this end, and as a police measure, all aliens should be required to register and carry certificates.

The value to a nation of trained seamen cannot be underestimated in time of war. They are reserves that cannot otherwise be easily assembled. The activity of the P. and O. steamers, now lazily carrying passengers over smooth seas to tropic ports, can be illustrated by the record for instance of the "Somali"—my ship from Hongkong to Ceylon. She is a staunch vessel of about seven thousand tons. She was taken over by the British admiralty, and fitted out as an hospital ship. Her captain became a mem-

ber of the Royal Navy, and won the Victoria Cross. She stood between the British guns and the shore batteries at Gallipoli, and the decks where now tourists lounge in luxury were strewn with the wounded and dying; while the smoker, now a gay rendezvous, was used as an operating room, a gruesome and horrible sight. The vision visibly affected the captain—Captain Cosgrave—four years later, when he recalled the experience. At a ship's concert he was unexpectedly called upon, and told the pathetic story. On one occasion, on his way to Malta hospitals, he buried at sea seventy young soldiers. The "Persia" and the "Arabia" of the same line, it will be recalled, were sunk by German submarines in the Mediterranean with an appalling loss of life. But one ship of this great fleet was always ready to replace another, which must have exhausted the patience, as well as the resources, of the enemy. They enabled Britain to fill up the ranks.

From the decks of the "Somali" I first saw the constellation of the Southern Cross. Singapore is only seventy miles from the equator, and there the firmament of heaven shines with unwonted splendor and reveals galaxies unknown to the temperate zone. The sunsets, as well, are without parallel. But, in the words of the poet: "Every prospect pleases, and only man is vile." That was, however, said originally of Ceylon, but it may have general application in the tropics, where men are poor things.

There is a great meeting of mixtures at Singapore. Malay and Indian, clad only in breech cloths, barefooted, with shining, black skins, engaged in stevedoring, lightering, hauling loads or conveying passengers in rickshaws, swarm the wharves and streets—"brother to the ox,"

but resembling more, so slender and active are their lithe figures, ebonized greyhounds. These men, condemned to obscurity and drudgery, are contemptuously called by foreigners, "the scum of the earth." Perhaps they compose human life in its lowest form, expressing the fewest wants and failing lamentably in aspirations for attainable ideals. The tropics numb them. They are satisfied with a mere subsistence, and, perhaps, they are no better nor worse for the civilization about them. In any event they live; and have so lived, for ten thousand years. Only the temperate zones can produce men with the energy to overcome and subdue nature where she stands in the path of progress. One zone breeds the servant inevitably, and the other the master.

The natives have slaved for local potentates from time immemorial. I visited the principality of the Sultan of Jahore, in the Malay States, sixteen miles from Singapore. I was warned of the dangers of the road, and took a letter to the English Chief of Constabularly. His spacious house at Jahore was open and unguarded. Verandas were comfortably arranged, and, on tables, English books and journals were spread. But the Chief was asleep in the drowsy atmosphere, and no one was near to molest him. He was alone and unafraid; and that gave me courage to go on my journey.

I set out for Kuala Lumpur from Port Sweetenham in the deep jungle, thirty miles from the coast, and engaged a native chauffeur. We were warned of tigers and panthers, which had two weeks before surprised a camp and mauled and devoured sixteen Chinamen. When once they get the taste of human blood, they become man-eaters, and dis-

dain the meat of cow or goat. Of course, the speeding automobile is a great protection—provided it keeps speeding. The road proceeded through a forest of rubber trees and cocoanut palms, which constitute a thin fringe, with the deep and impenetrable jungle behind. In Ceylon, I saw exactly the same conditions, but met elephants and friendly monkeys instead of the man-eaters. A Ceylon elephant, reduced to captivity, earns about two dollars a day grubbing trees and hauling loads, which is five times as much as a man gets. But in spite of low costs, increased somewhat by the war, the rubber companies, developed by Englishmen, selling on the London Stock Exchange as great enterprises, have suffered financial reverses. They are not making money. America takes fifty per cent of all the rubber of Malaya, but the prices are now unfavorable to the producer. The demand has fallen off, largely due to the collapse of European industry. The same may be said of copra, the dried meat of the cocoanuts; and tin, a leading export, has slumped. So a blight hangs over these equatorial regions, in common with other lands, and not until the return of normal conditions, shall prosperity gladden the perspiring pioneer. The coffee pest led most planters, several years ago, to substitute rubber, which in the past has been very profitable, and doubtless will be again. The trees attain eighteen inches in diameter in seven years, and yield a white fluid rubber by tapping, as maple sugar is produced in Maine.

Kuala Lumpur is the proud capital of the Federation of Malay States—a British protectorate. There is a Council or Legislature composed of official and unofficial members, the one appointed and the latter elected, after a fashion.

It was in session, debating a loan, the day I was there, and it seems that it is a universal world practice to piece out deficits by borrowings.

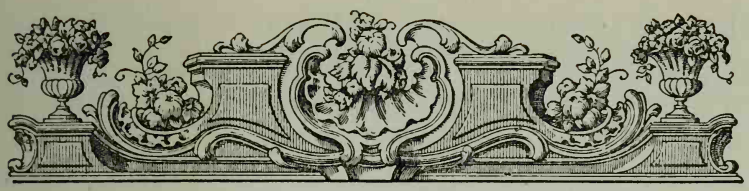
I found no tigers except one in a cage. He had just been trapped, after having committed serious depredations, and seemed to be, as he is, the only untamable beast in the animal kingdom—he and his family of wild cats and other feline varmints.

Kuala Lumpur is beautiful, but no one, I was told, was safe in the jungle, even here in the shadow of the courts and parliaments, which morbidly enhanced the fascination of the spot, endowed so lavishly by nature and adorned so sumptuously by art. For a day we enjoyed the little port of Penang before proceeding on our voyage.

Ceylon is in the same general category. In fact, the drive by car, seventy-five miles from Colombo to Kandy, the capital of the ancient Kandian kingdom, rising from tropical groves to mountain fastnesses, is not scenically surpassed anywhere. On all sides is luxuriant and variegated tropical vegetation. The Peradeniga, the most renowned botanical garden in the world is at Kandy, and in the trees flying foxes and other strange fauna surprise the uninitiated. Monuments, showing great antiquity, have just been uncovered. The British settlers have built roads and bridges, rest houses in the wilds and palaces in the cities. They have forced the man-eaters back, and led the man-workers forward. It may be selfish, but it is progressive, and it is vain to plead a more ancient culture for these people, when the common man has always been a slave with infinitely fewer opportunities for enlightenment than he

enjoys to-day. Shall he reassert his culture, or is he borne down by the weight of an unadaptable civilization?

Colombo, March 19, 1922



ARTICLE XII

Indian Politics; Lord Reading, Ghandi, Self-determination and Non-co-operation

MORE THAN three hundred years ago, Queen Elizabeth of England gave her "Merchant Venturers" a charter to trade with India, and the East India Company was then organized for exploration and exploitation. It finally assumed governmental functions under Warren Hastings—a bold buccaneer—and was later taken over by the British Government, whose rule in India was in this manner inaugurated. My acquaintence with India began in Madras, the old "Madras Presidency," where first the company established itself, and whose extraordinary history has been given to the world in the glowing periods of Lord Macaulay.

From this small beginning Britain claims sovereignty over a dominion covering one million five hundred and seventy-two thousand square miles, and containing over three hundred million people. It has a revenue of more than

six hundred million dollars annually. Her presence was not seriously challenged until the Sepoy rebellion of 1857, and since then India has been garrisoned and repressed.

To understand England's and, indeed, India's problem, it should be known that India is not unified either by race or religion. The preponderant Hindus, numbering two hundred and twenty millions, are hereditary victims of the caste system, by whose operation one class in the community disdains to have any association with another, a traditional barrier between men. Then there are different religions, irreconcilable and often antagonistic. The Mohammedans number sixty-eight millions, and are hostile to the Hindus. They once dominated the country which has been frequently invaded. The English destroyed the last alien dynasty, the Mogul, in 1858, and assumed control themselves. At present there is a strong movement to expel the English, just as the English, in turn, had expelled the Portugese, the Dutch, and the Mogul Emperors.

So, looking over the pages of history, one might easily conclude that the native races have been only irregularly and indifferently ruled by their own princes—a lazy and luxurious line of tax-fed rajahs—and for the most part have lived under the iron heel and tasted the bitter fruit of predatory invaders. Byron says of the Greeks that they were willing to put up with oppression when their tyrants were their own countrymen, and the Indians feel that way. It is galling to the pride of a spirited people to have the stranger for a master, and that is why Britain will never be accepted in India, according to the present aspect of things. She has tried every expedient, and now is attempting a final experiment. She is going to make India a self-

governing dominion! The pressure is so great that she rather despairingly will make this concession, while all Anglo-Indians express the greatest misgivings.

The story of the two Irishmen up a tree is applicable to this situation. A tiger cat was seen to pass beneath the tree, when one of the Irishmen said to the other: "I'll drop down and catch him." A fierce struggle with the beast ensued. Pat said to Mike, "Shall I come down and help you to hold on?" "No, you fool," said Mike, "come down and help me to let go."

Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, whom I met pleasantly in Washington during the war, kindly invited me to tiffin at the Vice-Regal Lodge at Delhi, the capital of British India. He is liberal minded. He belongs to the self-determination school of imperial politics. Following him into his study, I observed that on his table was a solitary photograph—that of Woodrow Wilson—bearing the President's personal inscription, and Lord Reading expressed affectionate regard and high appreciation of his character and intellectual prowess. But it was evident that Wilson's principles, his dream of an international "reign of law with the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind" made special appeal to the Viceroy, who is now collaborating with his friend in England, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs for India, who is responsible for the liberal measures on trial. The secretary's plans, however, have set the British residents of India all agog. The average Briton instinctively hates to abandon force, because he knows the Empire in the past was won by it, and now rests upon it: but the great war, and the ideals for which it was fought, have

stirred every dependent nation to its foundation and uncovered reservoirs of pride and hope of nationality which had never been suspected to exist. Hence the clamorous demand for freedom, the unrest and confusion. Lord Reading, sympathetic, does not clearly see his way. He has made vague speeches and promised "justice, equality and freedom," but it seems that the old shibboleths no longer satisfy.

Under recent parliamentary action, India's new constitution provides for provincial legislatures, not unlike the law-making bodies in American States, and a central legislative council, or congress. While I was in Delhi, two important questions were debated and disposed of by the Congress. One called upon the government to abandon repressive measures, now daily enforced, and the other to call a round table conference on the general conditions of law violation and law enforcement, which are causing great unrest at the present time. Lord Reading was gratified that the Council rejected both these motions by a vote of two to one, thus expressing "confidence"; or, at any rate, as I see it, a belief in the untimeliness of such action. But the Viceroy looked worried, and as he talked clouds of apprehension seemed to pass over his handsome and sensitive face. He said he was proud of the Council, representative of seven great provinces (others, more independent, are excluded, and still are governed by native princes with English resident advisers), but he did not know what the constituencies would do in the event of an election. "Cooperation," now apparently dominant, as evidenced by the vote in the Council, may suddenly shift to "non-cooperation!"

"Non-cooperation" is the battle cry of Ghandi. Gandhi is the greatest force in India today, and is feared by the administration. But who is Gandhi? He is a Hindu of austere, almost saintly life, who opposes British rule, not by violence, but by "soul-force." His weapon is described variously as "non-cooperation," "passive resistance" or "civil disobedience," and, in order to make the program effective, he urges the "Hartal," that is the strike, the closing of shops and the suspension of business. For example, nearly all native shops closed in Bombay on the recent arrival of the Prince of Wales, as a protest.

If Gandhi can command sufficient support, it will mean social and economic paralysis. The English are doing everything to hold the loyal Indians to their side by making generous promises and real concessions. But at Bombay and Madras the crowds got away from their leader and committed acts of serious violence resulting in outrage and death. This was on the occasion of the arrival of the Prince of Wales for his "Royal Progress" in November last, and what is significant, Gandhi was present in Bombay at the time.

Lord Reading had had prolonged interviews with him, and had assurance that there would be no riotous disturbances, and, when they did occur, Gandhi simply and smilingly expressed regret. But the damage was done. Gandhi, educated for the law in England and a practicing lawyer himself, keeps within the letter of the law, and the government knows, by bitter experience, that his internment would only inflame India and belie all the governmental professions. So they leave him alone. The fruit of education everywhere is revolt. The Prince had to submit

to the indignity of these demonstrations, and there is a story current that he is indignant and condemns those who had advised his visit. He has recently run away from ceremonial occasions to play polo, and the inspired press says that that will appeal to the Indians better than pageants, because they are great lovers of sport. I have been in several centers, like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, both before and after the Prince's entry, and got only gloomy accounts of the surly multitudes; and I hear everywhere pessimistic forebodings. It is said Delhi, the capital, will be the scene of violent protestations when the dazzling pomp of a royal progress will make its last stand.

What would you think if you were an Indian when, on the occasion of celebration, the sumptuously caparisoned elephants, the sacred beasts of the Hindus, were made a part of a street procession, with the native princes trailing behind to glorify an alien king? Is not the coming of British Royalty a challenge to the people, and does it not seem to require them to speak, perhaps to act? Shall they not express their sentiments—or, misunderstood, shall they seemingly acquiesce by silence? Generally, they stay away. But an Englishman told me that the Indians loved splendor, and without a vast entourage and a display of power and wealth the native population would not be duly impressed. I rather disconcerted him by asking: "Suppose the Kaiser conquered England, and sent his son, the crown prince, accompanied by swaggering courtiers, to parade the streets of London, would it create reverence or resentment, loyalty or loathing, pride or humiliation?"

I am of the opinion, in the present state of the public mind, that it was a great mistake to have sent the young

Prince to India. There is a deep-seated opposition to English rule by Hindu and Mohammedan alike—the first time they have come together under the very astute Mr. Gandhi; and British assumption of sovereignty at formal functions and expressed "in gracious address"—is wormwood and gall to the famished patriotic soul of an ancient people. There is no balm in Gilead for wounded pride. There is no innoculation for the inconsolable. It looks to me that the British have blundered again by "rubbing it in" with the parade of the Prince.

The Sepoy mutiny, where native troops, English-trained, turned on and destroyed their masters as far as they were able, and which has permanently embittered the rival peoples ever since, was the result of a series of blunders—the taking of principalities on the failure of heirs, the smearing of bullets with the fat of the sacred cow—tactless conduct and overbearing manners. But as recently as three years ago the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar occurred. General Dyer, having interdicted meetings, fired on a peaceable gathering without first giving notice to disperse, and killed three hundred and seventy-nine persons and wounded one thousand two hundred. He was condemned by the British Government, but never shall his brutality be forgotten. It is the rallying cry to-day, and the Indian National Council has purchased the place for a Martyrs' Memorial. Then martial law was declared in the Punjab to prevent reprisals, and the confidence of security carefully cultivated for fifty years was wrecked in a day. The Indians will not fight in the open, the native troops may remain loyal, but when railroads stop and government offices close and servants desert

their places, as Gandhi urges, the British must sue for terms or surrender.

I doubt if such unity of effort is possible, but Delhi is an armed camp. Tall Sikhs stand on guard. A special house is built for the Prince. There is an air of insecurity about it all. Having come from Cawnpore and Lucknow and Agra, steeped in the story of the mutiny, horrible and heroic, I could not but feel sympathetic for the mild and humane Viceroy, who already is the subject of bitter mutterings. I have talked to all manner of men, and can, by inference, divine what the inarticulate think. They say he came with fair promises and has redeemed none; that he has supported the military in a policy of repression; that in a year the troops were called out forty and more times, and, in Lucknow, alone, two thousand Gandhists languish in jail.

Lord Curzon, erstwhile Viceroy, resigned because Kitchener insisted on the subordination of the civil government to military rule; but now the administration is eager to exalt civil authority by sharing responsibility with the people, but on account, however, of the menacing movements and universal unrest, it fears to lay down its arms. It is a difficult part Lord Reading is called upon to play, and I would not be surprised should he resign to give way to a sterner and less sympathetic Viceroy with more "blood and iron" and less milk of human kindness.

I discussed the Philippines with him. He had ventured the opinion that our problem there was not dissimilar. But there is really no resemblance. The Philippines fell into the hands of the United States pursuant to a war with Spain. Spain was compensated for its property by the pay-

ment of twenty million dollars, and, whereas, the islands had been held as tributary and dependent, governed by foreigners for foreigners, the United States did not exploit them, and, furthermore, prepared the people for self-government, and to a great extent shared it with them. We have held them for only twenty-three years. Now, England, driven by the current of events is about to grant what the Filipinos already enjoy. After having been in India for three hundred and twenty years, from the settlement of Madras, and sixty-five years since the mutiny, when it asserted a wider sovereignty, England has reached the stage where we began. It was not a recent conviction that made us trustees for the Filipino people. They are promised independence when they can maintain a stable government. If we are not ready to admit the Philippines to the territorial status, with their consent, we shall doubtless let them go, under the Jones Act, on the same terms that were given to Cuba, retaining the reserved right, if there be need, to intervene to preserve order.

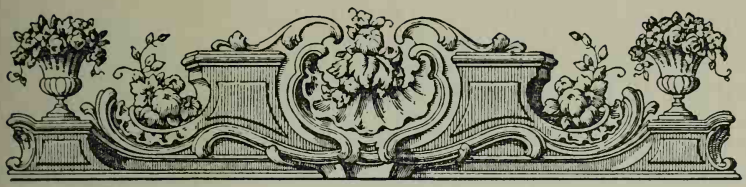
But, in a modified degree, the more prudent Indians share with the Filipinos the same fear of the consequence which might not unreasonably follow the granting and assumption of independence. British control, slender or strong—stands for security and stability. Unprotected, India might be invaded from the north, as frequently before, or the war-like and fanatical Mohammedans might seek domination and split the country in two. Conditions then would become chaotic, and perhaps lead to reconquest and even greater rigor in a new rule.

India's "safe and sane" policy should be to accept, at any rate, as progressive, Britains' invitation to become a

self-governing dominion within the Empire, or, as it is now more melliflously described, "The Commonwealth,"—but India is not sane. No passionate people are sane on the subject of freedom or religion, the two explosive elements involved in this controversy.

> "Religion, Freedom what you will
> A word's enough to raise mankind to kill."

Delhi, January 24, 1922



ARTICLE XIII

India and the British Empire

AFTER rounding the globe, one cannot but be impressed by the picturesque words of Daniel Webster in describing the British Empire, "whose morning drumbeat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." But Britishers can derive but a momentary exaltation of pride from this eloquent tribute. It was delivered with forensic force to show that even such a power could not resist the righteous cause of the comparatively feeble American Colonies. And Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian Patriot, also believes in the efficacy of spiritual instrumentalities to accomplish for India what Washington did for America. But when America set out upon her career, as an independent nation, Europe was involved in devastating wars; and, unmolested, after the evolution of two decades, America was sufficiently strong to take care of herself. This was a virgin land, unhampered by tradition—a mighty field for freedom, for Caucasian courage and enterprise. It had its

"Indian Problem," blood thirsty savages—and settled it in the interest of civilization. The world is better for it. Isolated and remote, America was self-reliant and successful.

But the British Colonies do not regard themselves today as self-sufficient. Canada and Australia, the greatest colonies in character and composition, hold to the empire, while asserting self-government, and get both! The war proved that slender as the ties are which bind the colonies to the Empire, the community of interests proved adequate to compel cooperation. Even as compared to the United States, the great colonies, considered together, make a remarkable showing. Canada has a population of eight million three hundred thousand; Australia, three million; India, three hundred million. In area, Canada has three million seven hundred and thirty thousand square miles; Australia, two million nine hundred and seventy-five thousand; India one million five hundred and seventy-two thousand. The United States has one hundred and ten million population, and in area covers three million five hundred and seventy-four square miles. Great Britain, with only eighty-nine thousand square miles has forty-two million population. So it is apparent that she needs over-seas connections based on sovereignty or common interest—mandate or hegemony—to "keep the pot boiling" at home; and her navy, or sea power, is the magic bond that holds the parts together.

One of the most curious sights I believe I saw in India was an exhibition, by a street entertainer, of a trained bird about the size of, and not unlike, a linnet. The bird would, with foot and beak, thread beads on a fine string, which he

would also insert in the eye of a needle. As a reward, he would fly to his master's hand for food. Should you place a few coppers in your hand, he would later fly to you and fetch the coins to the family treasury. He seemed to know where his bread came from. Being fed, I suppose, though free, he had no ambition to forage for himself, and so he came to love his chains; which reminds me of the attitude of the city child, and, indeed, many children of larger growth, towards freedom. This child said compassionately on his first visit to the country, after observing the birds flitting aimlessly about, "Poor little things, they have no cages"!

The conservative man of commerce cannot understand why Indians want greater freedom. He cannot follow the lark that soars to heaven's gate!

He might understand that the bird would prefer on occasions the succulent worm to the weevily rice. But grain is a staple—surer to get. Has the Indian discovered the worm, and feels no dependency upon prepared food? Or have rations become short and hard to get? Can he fare better by going out and working for himself? These are the conflicting questions.

The Indians see the crops going into the export trade, while they starve, and sixty-five per cent of their revenues go into the cost of maintaining the British establishment. These are the growlings that are heard in the bazaars as well as in the provincial and imperial councils. In Bengal, the Council to save taxes, refused to vote funds for the police. The English Governor, having the power under the new law, however, forced action. Parliamentary freedom has its limitations.

The poet blithely sings:

> "A day, an hour of glorious freedom,
> Is worth a whole eternity in bondage."

But is it? For a man with a family, the "bondage" of regular employment, rather than the pickings of sporadic freedom, looks rather attractive! Idealists lead the way to human betterment, but, like Moses, they never enter the promised land. Their people, however, who follow behind, feeling their way, do. An Englishman once tersely observed that, on politics, the English habitually think in terms of realities. "We employ all sorts of resounding phrases and political abstractions and pretenses," he said, "but we do not think in them—whereas the Irish and the Indians do. They care more for a verbal admission of their 'independence' than for the realities of freedom."

Those who engage in empire building have to study the nature of the people they expect to govern, or guide. The English hold themselves aloof and consider themselves superior, an attitude which has humiliated the educated and thoughtful Indian. They apparently cannot change this pose, and the only bond that will continue to hold the dependent people at all will be the conviction on their part of the need of force to preserve order, insure stability, and, more particularly, protect their country from external aggression.

Gandhi was told that, if the English evacuated as a consequence of his campaign, India would have the Amir of Afghanistan in Lahore, Holkar in Delhi, and Gurkhas in Bengal. He replied: "If we can break English rule, no other rule can stand against us." "If the English go," he

was told, "you will have anarchy." He answered, "I prefer anarchy to alien rule." He, the Hindu, has joined hands with the Mohammedans, whose creed he secretly despises, and has induced them, with great political skill, to adopt the policy of "non-cooperation." India is now waiting for the wheels to stop. Mirabeau said, "Beware of the people who, to become dangerous, have only to fold their arms!"

But this Hindu, who might well shudder at the thought of Mohammedan domination, has expressed a preference for it! As a strategist, he knows how the English fear the word "Jihad," the "Holy War." This accounts for the tender treatment which has been accorded the Sultan of Turkey, the spiritual head—the Caliph—of the Mohammedan faith. The prophet provided for a Caliphate before his death, and, while granting Moslems the right to be loyal to governments which do not molest them, declared a "holy war" on all who obstructed or opposed them. Hence the Caliphate in Indian politics. Its influence is dreaded. England is accused of attacking the temporal power of the Sultan in the peace terms, and is anathema!

The British have done great things in India by way of development. Railroads and wagon roads have been constructed. Education has been encouraged, civil service employment given to natives and order maintained. This means much for the world, because it is safe to assume that the Indians, lacking in initiative, but not in indolence, would be as unprogressive as they have been in all the centuries. In the "glorious past" slave masters built monuments to themselves and all that remains are remains. The beautiful Taj Mahal of Agra, the pride of Indian art and

architecture, was doubtless largely the product of a Frenchman or an Italian. The Indian mind runs to philosophic speculation, and the result is hideous superstition and vile idolatry.

The English stopped one practice only, fearing to interfere with "religion," and that was the "suttee" by which wives and even affianced young women were burned on the pyres of their prospective husbands. As it is, widows are now shorn of their hair and relegated to the drudgery of the households—a despised class. It is said that at one time the poisoning of husbands by wives had become so common that the suttee was devised to prevent it—a sort of fire insurance against sudden and unexpected death. It proved effective. Hindu and Moslem are certainly given "freedom to worship," and have the protection of tribunals on which their educated countrymen sit. They fill nearly all the civil service offices. The "intellectuals," few in so vast a population, are men of parts, but the depths of ignorance and fanaticism in which the masses are plunged, seem unfathomable, and ages of enlightenment will be required to fill the horrible abyss.

But Great Britain proposes to take them all into the family, and she could better afford to do so than the United States, had we the same perplexing problem. They may be made "British Citizens," without affecting the government of England at home. When we add a State, we must give it equal rights with all other States under the Constitution, and guarantee a republican form of government. The elective franchise, if granted, might determine, perhaps, in close elections, the complexion of Congress and the personality of the President. Indians denizenized, would have

no appreciable effect on England. They could go there to live, but few would go there to work, because there is no work for them. Our broad acres would be inundated by black men and brown men, should we admit them to the privileges of citizenship. A republic must have a homogeneous population enjoying equal rights, otherwise it will fail. We could, of course, hold such a country as India in the subordinate status of a "territory" and rule it by Congress, in which event it would have no electoral vote; but that would be another humiliation in the eyes of the Indians, and would not work.

Gladstone once said that the British constitution was a "scientific abortion." Not so ours. It is scientific and consistent, but, as in other inflexible laws, consistency frequently works hardships. For instance, we can never admit the territory of Hawaii to statehood, and, perhaps, we shall have to tear down the territorial structure which now exists in order to get rid of an undesirable alien control. I refer to the native born Japanese, who, voting, would command by numbers. We are forced to commit an act of imperialism to preserve American institutions and authority. India can, on the other hand, become a self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth, like Australia, without directly disturbing the home government nor confusing the political life of England. She can shelter herself behind British guns without paying for them. England receives no contribution to the Imperial Exchequer from Australia or Canada which is not voluntary. But they voluntarily buttressed British arms in the supreme need of the Motherland in the late war, and that is compensation enough for the prestige and protection which membership in the

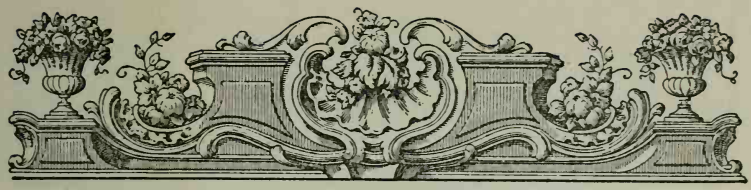
Commonwealth ordinarily confers. It cemented the union of hearts, for—"He to-day who sheds his blood with me shall be my brother." It fortified the community of interests and consolidated the Empire more firmly than acts of Parliaments and orders in Council.

If Australia and Canada find such association advantageous, India, as a business proposition, might try the experiment. But then again the parallel fails. There is no possible assimilation of diverse peoples. Indians are biologically alien. National and racial pride, on the other hand, rise superior to the sordid consideration of pounds and pence! "Money is the white man's god," says the proud Indian, "and we will refuse to worship at that shrine." I remember hearing a speech in San Francisco delivered by the Japanese Professor of Literature and History in Stanford University. As I recall it, he said, at the banquet given the Japanese Commercial Commission by the Japan society, "I am a Samurai. I am descended from the proud fighting men of my country who despised money and trade. Why am I here? I have been enlightened by Western Civilization. Power once reposed in war-like deeds; now money is power, and by it we can win all that we desire, which before required valor and strength."

It might be well for India to become a money-maker and consider the creation of national wealth, not for its own sake, but for the benefits that will accrue to the people in the winning of it, and in its possession. It is time that a new god were added to the Hindu Mythology—one who can "deliver the goods." The sapient Robt. G. Ingersoll, paraphrasing Pope, once observed, "An honest God is the noblest work of man." In place of Kali, the cruel but feared

Goddess of the temples of Calcutta and Benares, set up Common Sense, and, instead of the blood of the goat, offer as a sacrifice the sweat of the brow! Your prayers will then be heard.

Delhi, January 23, 1922



ARTICLE XIV

Mediterranean and Egyptian Days

EGYPT fascinates. It is climatically, as well as historically attractive. The Mediterranean laves its shores and this great, tideless sea speaks mysteriously of past civilizations, from which the modern world has inherited so much, and of which it knows so little.

Stevenson's Legionary looked, with eyes of prohpecy and expectancy, from the mountains of the Picts towards "zones un-Romanized," but, to-day, two thousand years later, the traveler from the Pacific looks, from the sure ground of possession, through eyes of retrospection, on the long path which our civilization has painfully climbed.

Sailing from Bombay via Aden, in Arabia, over the Indian Ocean and through the Red Sea, one feels that he is close to the cradle of the human race. There stands Mt. Sinai, in full view, from which Moses thundered the commandments. From the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, one hundred miles long, narrowly opens before us. We silently glide by the banks, now within a stone's throw, and at night the ship imparts the sensation of stealth, like a panther's movements, silently creeping on

his foe. The dim shore lights seem only to reveal the darkness. Without a sound, the ship moves unerringly to its destination.

Egypt at last! Not even the native minions of the Customs at Port Said could poison one's mind by their misdirected attentions.

From Port Said to Cairo is only a few hours in a good train, and Sheppard's Hotel, with its broad verandahs, conveys the idea of welcome.

From the group of waiting dragomen, we select a tall Bedouin for our guide. He is grandly gowned in a flowing robe which reaches to his heels, and he talks glibly of sights and shops. In fact, he is a partner, he says, in a small shop, hard by, where you can find genuine scarabs! To buy without expert knowledge, you must needs have much faith and some cash! Scarabs are ancient charms carved in stone, beetle-shaped and bearing inscriptions. It was taught that, piously placed over the heart of the dead, the real heart, when interrogated by Osiris, in the dim shades of Eternity, would not testify against the body. It secured some sort of impunity for sin. If they possessed that virtue now, there would be a greater demand for scarabs.

A more puerile set of impositions were never practiced anywhere more successfully than by the Priest-Caste upon the early Egyptians. The wonderful museum at Cairo contains rare antiquities, and you can purchase there surplus scarabs, jushebtis (small icons which, buried with you, give exemption from post-mortem labor), and even mummies—the desiccated dead, in gaudy boxes—and obelisks with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Many of them for sale, the irreverent say, are made in Connecticut! I told Shar, our

dragoman, that he should not traffic in the dead, and that in America the dead had rights—the right, at any rate, to remain buried! But he said, with delightful naiveté, "Are not their estates robbed?" He must have been associating with members of a nameless profession.

But Shar knew his Egypt, and led us, the very first night, to see the great pyramid by moonlight, and, again, the next day in the fierce glare of the sunlight, reflected, with added intensity, from the sands of the desert. Patient sat the impassive and inscrutable sphynx. It was a fitting introduction to Egypt. One is awe-struck, and, as with the second sight, looks down the ages. He feels the fleeting character of mortal life when the procession of ghostly dynasties pass, as it were, before him in review.

We were learnedly told by our guide, who probably spoke by the book—the guide book—that there are records in this land dating back to 3400 Before Christ; that the accidental finding of the inscribed "Rosetta Stone," in the Nile Delta, at the end of the eighteenth century, enabled the hieroglyphs to be deciphered, because, it displayed parallel Greek and Egyptian texts.

The zenith of Egyptian greatness was reached at about 2750 B. C. in the Fifth Dynasty, but the reign of Rameses II. is better known. He flourished for sixty-seven years after 1292 B. C., and is responsible for nearly half the monuments now extant. Mummified, his finely chiseled head, well-preserved, can be seen in the museum. Egypt is celebrating this year the centennary of the Frenchman, Francois Champillion, for it was he, who, in 1822, revealed the Egyptian alphabet to the world. His discovery opened wide the doors of the past.

The mural decorations of the tombs showed the manner of the life of the people. The religion of the early Egyptians was, indeed, a jumble of absurdities, embracing the worship of animals, and the belief that the bodies of the dead needed the aid of the living and would renew human activities at some future time. Hence, utensils and food for sustenance, ornaments and useful objects, were secreted in the sarcophagi. The body was scientifically treated to preserve it against that day when the soul would reinhabit it. Other Eastern religions adopted many of the Egyptian mythological fantasies, and worshipped the same gods under different names. It is said that the extraordinary spread of Mohammedanism was due to the revulsion experienced by the awakening multitudes, who came to regard the simplicity and sobriety of the Mussleman's creed with greater favor. Mohammed taught one God, no drink, many wives, and then, incontinently, dismissed all supernumerary dieties. Christianity was slower of Oriental acceptance, because there was a less war-like organization behind it. The Moslem world was created by the sword, and is now a political machine—the Caliphate—of wide-spread power and influence. In fact, it threatens white civilization, which is a chapter in the making, and may some day dominate Europe.

The Mohammedan leaders are quietly driving the British out of India and Egypt. As an English staff officer in the Abyssinian campaign many years ago reported to the home office—"Our troops are retreating in splendid order; the enemy following in great confusion!"

On February 16th a reward of Five Thousand Pounds Sterling was offered in Cairo for the apprehension of the

assassins who had systematically killed a large number of English officials in Egypt—how large a number is not known, because the press is strictly censored; but, I learned, from undoubted authority, that it was alarming.

Zaghoul Pasha, the leader of the people, had, a month before, been arrested and exiled by the English Military Government—the very thing England long hesitated to do in the case of Mahatma Ghandi in India. General Allenby was summoned from Egypt, where he served as Military Governor, to London, and had just returned with terms involving the abandonment of the British Protectorate, and giving the people autonomous government. So Ireland, India and Egypt have won noteworthy victories for a fuller independence, and England gets no credit for concessions, because she waited until they were wrested from her by violence, involving the creation of national martyrs, who, as Byron said of the Scipios, "still rule from their graves." Perhaps the ancient Egyptians, in attributing continued participation in human affairs to the dead, were, figuratively, not far from wrong!

The lesson of our generation is so plainly written that no student of contemporary history can fail to see it. Patriotism is filial love, and no more shall a man suffer his mother to be assailed than see his country violated. A man's country is his very own—it may be a poor thing, but it is his! Who shall hereafter enter one's house unbidden, to usurp his place? That is the sentiment. Where there are bad conditions, the urge to correction must be moral and missionary, and must be done with tact and discretion—the manner of the missionary, rather than

that of the master; the plea to persuade, rather than the sword to slay.

I was recently impressed by an experience in Athens. Greece and Turkey are at war. The Greeks, with an army of two hundred thousand men, are holding Thrace and Smyrna against the Turk, and the tension is high. While still in the City of Athens, a ministerial crisis occurred. The allies are putting pressure upon the plucky little Greeks, who want to march on Constantinople, where the English, French, and Italians are exercising joint control, and are in doubt what to do. The streets of the beautiful modern capital were thronged with people enjoying themselves. It was Sunday. They sat in their open-air cafes, and climbed, care-free, the heights of the Acropolis. Do they ever reflect that there is no tenant in the "Temple of Nike?" Another of their godesses of victory is enthroned in the Louvre. And, far away, the frieze of the Parthenon graces the British museum. For this theft, Lord Byron paid his respects to Lord Elgin in the scathing lines of the "Curse of Minerva."

But everything was very peaceful. I felt, however, that disaster was impending for these people of noble and heroic traditions. The allies are strong, but when they recently called on the Greeks to reject King Constantine, their favorite figurehead, you may recollect, they stubbornly refused. The French and English, not long ago, vainly demanded the sale of their accumulated war supplies, for which they were willing to pay. Spurned, the reckless French, supposed to be friendly to the Turks, landed two hundred Marines, who were promptly annihilated. Now, the allies are again browbeating an exasperated people.

I am not discussing the merits of the case, for I am not intimately informed about it. I employed a guide, who had been in the army, and who had been in America, now returned to his native land. He bitterly denounced foreign interference, and, in his mind, he could see no possible justification for it. The Greeks are free men and able to take care of themselves. He was intelligent, but patriotically emotional. I accepted him as an average Athenian, and saw at once how utterly futile it would be for a foreigner to trespass on their sacred soil. He said, "If the allies send a High Commissioner here, as they have done in Constantinople, he will be killed!" and then, straightening himself, and in no spirit of boastfulness, grimly added—"I will kill him myself!" Convinced that their hearers are Americans, the subject people in every land enjoy the luxury of freeing their minds. It is a tribute to our democracy and disinterestedness. Let such a spirit of love and sacrifice suffuse a State and it is unconquerable. But, better, let the leaders of Europe learn the lesson in good season—they cannot expect to rule such a people without a force so great that it would be unprofitable by all the canons of commerce—and these are the ultimate "conons"—and that, in any honorable sense, they can never govern them.

Constantinople and Athens appeared to me quite modernized—the houses, the streets, the street cars, the automobiles—all the externals. Some day, education will straighten out the kinks which keep the people provincial and suspicious. If they do not observe their obligations to humanity and civilization, they should, like other offenders, be condemned by a proper tribunal and be disciplined. Here is the great task for statesmanship! But they should

not be turned over to another country for exploitation, That is not punishment—that is slavery.

But, I began to discuss the condition of Egypt. Of course, these countries, in the past, have been the prey of every freebooting nation, and it doubtless often looked to them as though the whole question affecting their welfare was only a choice of masters—and they had no choice. England is better than the Turk; England is better than the rude tribes of Mongolia and Thibet which, it is alleged, will sweep down on India, if England retires. But, under Zaghoul, the Egyptians, and under Ghandi, the Hindus have established confidence in a real nationality, which even England must respect, and the presumptions are that the native races, better than a stranger, can defend their hearths. The Greeks have shown their national spirit; why not the others, with a background of tradition and a love of home? The English are practically out of Egypt, yielding to the world pressure without, and the irreconcilable patriots within.

At bottom, perhaps, Burke was right when he said that an Englishman is the poorest person in the world to argue another man into slavery, or did he not say "another Englishman"? The trouble is, the English do not argue; masterful, they shut their minds and suffer themselves to be moved by predatory instincts—by trade and imperial considerations. In yielding in India and Egypt, even as they retire, they make it a half-way claim for "Special Interest" and "Imperial Preference," which offends the rest of the world, and creates enemies everywhere. In Egypt, they ask for guarantees—for what? The protection of the Suez Canal. Is it not a neutralized water way,

made so by international agreement? There is no danger to it. Egypt has a trustee's obligation to respect it, and no Egyptian interest is affected, except advantageously, by its operation. This is also true of the Assuan Dam. England wants, and so do all nations, an assurance from the Khedive—now the King—that he shall not "sell out" to the Sultan, and that he must respect the nationality of the Egyptians as well as the commercial interests of the world.

We read, in the history of the Pharaohs, how the Israelites were put under taskmasters, and how the pyramids and temples were built by their enforced labor. At Karnak, far up the Nile, where excavations are being made, I saw an overseer directing a gang of laborers; and, whenever any worker would pause or slow up, he would crack his whip over him, or else cut him sharply on the back. The old practice, of which the pyramids are monuments, seems to persist; and, in such circumstances, the unhappy mortals actually sing. But it is not for joy. High above the impact of pick on rock or shovel on sand, you hear a measured refrain. What does it mean? It is the music of compulsion. The workers are made to sing to the beat of the pick and shovel—a strange accompaniment—in order, synchronously, to effect united effort. Every man must keep pace with the cadence of the song. The baton is the black-jack. The hounded are thus harnessed to a machine and work as one. In such an economic treadmill, how often may the whip become a weapon and the chant a requiem! Welcome for the toilers of the world are the tireless slaves of electricity and steam,—they labor without lash or lament and afford leisure by multiplying and conconcentrating energy!

The great monuments of Egypt rest on a foundation of human suffering which dims their glory; but, let us remember, that is the civilization of the past. It carries its lesson to the better generations which have measurably redeemed humanity under Christian influences and by the inventive genius of man.

Nothing could be more impressive than the pyramids at Cairo and the temple ruins at Luxor, and whither we went, by train from Cairo, in a day and a night. One may go leisurely in two weeks one way, by dahabeah or steamer; but, the water was low in March, and, in fact, the two regular steamers were both stranded for days at a time during our visit.

One hundred and fifty miles further, and six hundred miles, all told, up the Nile, is Assuan, where the river is held back by a stupendous dam—a mile wide—but whose waters, unfortunately, have submerged the beautiful Temple of Philae, called "The Pearl of Egypt." It was originally a temple of Isis, whose columns, now like whited bones, rise above the waters as from the grave. In this practical age, and under the shadow of Assuan, it is perhaps better for a country to choose to be bountiful rather than beautiful—when she cannot be both. But Egypt, unique, has accomplished both. Like Italy, of which it has been said:

> "Thy very ruins are beautiful, thy waste
> More rich than other lands' fertility."

Irrigation, thus regulated, provides fertility for a strip along the river several miles wide for the whole distance. This is the life-blood of Egypt. Behold! a carpet of emerald

laid on the desert, which stretches far out of sight to the east and west; a tawny lion with the regalia of St. Patrick; an evergreen against a bank of shifting sand.

The desert, like the sea, always holds its own character. Time does not change it. It has an irresistible allure for many. Shar led us upon the fringe of it, and fain would have outfitted us for a week. On the backs of burros, led by native boys, in great glee, we trod the path of Emperors to the tombs—labyrinthine excavations in solid stone—marvelous, mystifying! We went by the whispering Colossi of Memnon, and pondered in the presence of the revered ruins of Karnak.

The insecurity of life and property, however, was also a determining factor. Our consul had advised that, in some way, Americans should indicate their identity, on account of the frequent assaults on the English, growing out of the political troubles in Cairo.

When I penetrated to the heart of a great pyramid, I took two guides, who had offered their services at the entrance. My party had preceeded me. Rising two hundred and fifty feet high, in its recesses, I passed through tortuous tunnels, and finally arrived at the chamber which once contained the sarcophagus of an ancient king. The only light was afforded by tapers which the guides fitfully ignited, stipulating first for their cost on the spot. Besides they had their regular compensation. My friends had come and gone, and I, alone, in the dark chamber, found myself confronted by these two dragomen, who demanded, presently, extra money for their services. They were presistent and threatening, and, when told they would be paid at the entrance, they said, No! they had rendered

special favors —of which I knew nothing—and the Sheik would withhold their money from them. I explained I had no change, and they finally said, "Give us of your wallet—we can make change." Dare I expose my fat wallet? No, this would invite disaster. All this was in the dark, deep in the pyramid, with no one within call, and a yawning pit in the corner of the chamber, which was early revealed to me by an expiring taper. It was an uncomfortable situation. I could not find my way to escape, so I resorted to the expedient of denying that I had any money, which, however, I would get from my friends, could we but overtake them; and then I would gladly pay, because I appreciated their manifold services and the protection from pitfalls which they had given me! I so managed, diplomatically, to make a move, and when I reached the passage, I quickly groped my way, they at my heels, yelling not to forget the "bakshish"—their word for money. Once in the daylight, they slunk away, as I reported the incident to the police; but I could not identify them. I was told strange stories of intimidation, blackmail and mysterious disappearances, and I am disposed to believe that these "guides," really bandits, were capable of robbery and foul play. The proverbial lawlessness of the East has also been accentuated by the war. The pyramids were sealed, and the entrance camouflaged by the Ancient Egyptians to prevent the robbery of the tombs, and, only in comparatively recent times, have the hidden passages been discovered. The curse of the desecrated dead seems to be upon the place! If you believe in ghosts, don't associate with bandits. The Home Office has been informed of the brigandage among guides, but the practice continues.

The futility of protest is amusingly shown by another unpleasant experience which befell me on my trip from Egypt to Jerusalem, illustrative of English ineptitude.

I was advised by the American diplomatic agent at Cairo that it was necessary to get a permit to depart from Egypt for Europe from the Egyptian government, and, after some trouble and waiting several days, I received through him the precious document. When, at night, I crossed the line into Palestine, I was called on by a tall young Englishman—the English now administer the Holy Land—for my papers, and he looked at my passport and took up my permit. I asked for its return, because, I said, I was going back later to Egypt to sail for Naples, and my consul considered it very important. He was arrogantly disobliging and rudely refused. I persisted, requesting, at any rate, the reason for its confiscation. He would give no adequate explanation, and offensively replied—"No, and if you don't understand English, I can tell it to you in French or Italian!" Whereupon I told him I would have no more of his impudence, and that I would report him to his government through my government. and demand redress. Here is where England weakens her Empire. In Jerusalem I complained to our Consul, who took it up with the local authorities, and, when again in Cairo, I wrote to our diplomatic agent, who replied he would act at once and try to recover my "ticket of leave" and exhaust every channel to get satisfaction. Finally, I received the verdict, enclosing documents and exchanges, to the effect that the British Control had many other complaints respecting this same "Russian-Pole," who gave frequent offense to travelers, and that he was dismissed from the

service, on which our amiable diplomatic agent (credited to the rural purlieus of Marion, Ohio, and still charmingly verdant) congratulated me! I had a last fling. The insult to me and his office, I wrote, was delivered not by a "Russian-Pole" but, as I had fully explained to him, by an offensive Briton, and that I fervently hoped that our joint efforts had not resulted in the punishment of an innocent man. The diplomatic situation was saved, as well as the head of the young blackguard, probably a favorite, by a sort of vicarious atonement and the sacrifice of a friendless scapegoat.

But, what about the U. S. A.? Must her nationals suffer humiliation and her diplomats derision? I got away without a permit, but with a strong personal impression that I had sounded one of the sources of British unpopularity. They say the French get along very much better with dependent peoples, because of their courteous manners, democratic demeanor and easier assimilability, which I can well understand. As Emerson says, "Life is not so short but that there is time for a little courtesy," and there is certainly no investment that bears such abundant returns for a small outlay than politeness in personal or official intercourse. English training and environment are against it, however. My otherwise agreeable British-born tour-director in India explained, in justification of his rough treatment of our bearer—a native servant—that the conduct of a servant in that country would be intolerable unless you treated him as a servant and plainly showed the master's hand. Of course, the American practice is different, and to the American the British attitude is as distasteful as it is incomprehensible. Where there are classes,

well defined with them—shadowy with us—the tendency is, by such tactics, to keep them apart, and, hence, the servility on the one side and arrogance on the other. It was George Eliot who said of English servants: "They revere the propriety of insolence." Perhaps they do. It is supposed to be regarded by them as the badge of superiority. But have not the English erred in carrying that conviction among backward peoples—composed of proud men and women—not servants—but, within their bailiwick, supposedly supreme? Who can say that this is not the secret of England's failure to successfully govern subject races?

In discussing national characteristics I dislike, as in this case, to criticise a people, many of whom are, as I meet them, both high minded and amiable; so it is, after all, the average that is at fault, and that average is kept high principally, in my opinion, by the arrogance of the petty official classes. I once paid a sovereign to an English beadle who had rudely denied me and my friends some simple courtesy in a public place. I was in no humor either to sue for favor or to exchange epithets. When you meet "a beggar on horseback" it is easier to pay him to get off! In this instance, he came down.

ARTICLE XV

Jerusalem

It was not very long ago when the roads to Jerusalem were beset with difficulties, and the country thereabout infested with bandits. The city, which has such a powerful appeal to the Christian and Jewish worlds, very naturally attracts pilgrims in large numbers, and it is destined, with the modern facilities of travel, to become a center as magnetic as Rome itself.

I left Cairo at six o'clock in the evening on a local train, and four hours later arrived at Kantara, where a Nile canal had to be crossed on foot over a bridge of boats to the waiting sleeping and dining carriages of the Palestine Railway.

The next day at noon our train rolled into the ancient city, the capital of the Holy Land. Without ceremony, the rush of hawkers, cabmen and porters at once disillusions the pilgrim, who had doubtless approached the sacred spot with mingled feelings of reverence and awe. The holy of holies is commercialized. It was a late February day, and the heavens, as though Jerusalem were accursed for the

crime of the crucifixion, poured out their wrath in rain and hail, refrigerating the marrow and dampening the spirit.

My travel agency had assigned me to a hospice instead of a hotel. As I subsequently learned, it was as good as the hotels, poor at the best, but it was a chilling experience which shall never be forgotten. There was no heat in the house. We slept in cells and dined in dungeons, wearing overcoats and walking up and down the floor to keep alive, but the wine, ranged in bottles on the sideboard, unaided, became nicely frappé.

A hospice, of which there are many in Jerusalem, is half monastary and half caravansary. They are maintained for the benefit of pilgrims. Mine was under the care of the Franciscan order, and, while scrupulously clean, was destitute of comfort. I afterwards visited a hospice erected by the Kaiser Wilhelm II, where there is a beautiful chapel adorned with mosaic. The Savior and the saints compose the mural decoration, and, in their midst, sit the Kaiser himself and the Kaiserine, in a very patronizing pose and apparently very much at home! Did not the Kaiser build it, and, supreme egotist, had he not allied himself on all occasions, but one, with the Almighty? "Me und Got" may have had its origin in this house. What a contrast of power by sentiment and power by strength! "My kingdom is not of this earth" said the Master, and lo! His kingdom endures, while all the others have perished.

In the little town of Bethlehem, with its beautifully terraced terrain, we saw the very spot where Christ was born. The Church of the Nativity covers it, and pilgrims flock thither from all lands, like the Wise Men of the East,

to pay homage. There was a vesper service going on, oblivious of the tramping tourist, and deep under the altar the location of the very manger was shown.

Thereafter we followed far the footsteps of the Messiah. To Bethany we went to call on Mary and Martha, and viewed the last lodging of Lazarus. Beyond, thirty miles, we stood by the Jordan where Christ was baptized, and at Jericho, in full view of the Dead Sea, thirteen hundred feet below sea level, we tarried for lunch. The shepherds were piping on the pastures, and droves of camels were browsing on the hillsides.

But it is generally a very sterile, rocky and mountainous country, and that end of the Valley of the Jordan, bordering the Arabian desert, would not support a hundred people. The wonder-workers, who, constantly seeking to stir a thrill, point out "Temptation Peak" where Satan transported the Savior and offered him the riches of the earth, have failed utterly in this case, because no one would trade the least of his possessions for the Dead Sea country and the townsite of Jericho.

But the charm of the Mount of Olives and the Garden of Gethsemene, hanging over the divine city, might easily have excited one's cupidity. They command Jerusalem, itself a priceless prize, and face the "Golden Gate" which once pierced its walls, and which now is sealed to frustrate possible attack. A skyline of spire, dome and minaret gives lightness to the massive walls which enclose the congested capital. But enter by the Damascus Gate and follow obsevingly the devious alleyways to the street of David and emerge at the Temple of Solomon, ruined magnificence, and your cup of wonderment will be full. It is the incarnate

past. It is the city of sorrow and desolation, though fair to look upon. It is a feast upon which to gorge the imagination.

Solomon, when he sought superlatives and desired to picture pulchritude, sang of someone "as comely as Jerusalem." Indeed, it is a jewel of lovliness and splendor even to-day, after having been destroyed and rebuilt forty-three times! It seems that in the East, which is true of Jerusalem, cities are built upon cities. The accumulation of debris remains, and subsequent generations forget. Explorations show that the city of the early kings and prophets and even of the crusaders is underneath the imposing edifices of the present time.

The walls I beheld, are barriers in hopeless ruin, evidenced by the lamentations of the Jews, whom I have seen beating their hands against an outcropping of an ancient fragment and chanting its requiem. They plead with the Lord to restore their departed glory, to rebuild the temple, to give them power over their enemies. It is pathetic because it is sincere. This is called the "wall of tears" where they stand all day in vain supplication. I wonder whether they regard Zionism as an answer to their prayer, but I am told the Palestine Jew has no interest in this movement, which is doubtless inspired spiritually by some such sentiment as this.

Jerusalem, more than any other historical city which I have seen in my travels, meets one's expectations. It proudly sits aloof on its four hills, averaging two thousand five hundred feet above the Mediterranean, which is not far distant; for all Palestine, which fronts the tideless sea, has only an area of ten thousand square miles. Jerusalem,

entirely walled and two and one-half miles in circumference, contains but a population of sixty-five thousand, of which more than forty thousand are Jews and eight thousand Christians. It is thus compactly built, wholly of stone, and has the color and atmosphere, particularly in its bazaar streets, of the days when Herod reigned and Pilate ruled. The men wear gaberdines and turbans, and the elders are bearded and venerable.

To complete the picture in my mind and close the the chapter, I visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, erected on the site of Calvary, covers the scene of the crucifixion and the tomb of Christ. The light within this remarkable edifice was very dim, and with burning tapers our guide led us reverently from altar to altar, and from shrine to shrine, descending into the depths of the crypts and disclosing, through the gratings, the place of the cross, the rent made in the earth on the fateful day, and there also he pointed out the slab covering the sarcophagus where the Body was entombed. This has been described as "the most remarkable place in the world" and devotees, prostrate with love and grief, prayed and sobbed the hours away.

My mind reverted to the days when the valiant crusaders, fired by a religious revival, sought in ten successive attempts to recover the holy sepulchre from pagan possession. Today the Turk is expelled, and English troops hold the citadel. But England took Palestine, not for sentimental reasons, but to protect the Suez Canal and her road to India, and then gave it to the Jews, which seems anomalous. In fact, there appears to be little Christian sentiment at all about this historic situation. A divided

Jewish movement and a fierce Arab opposition is beginning to seriously distract Parliament, and Jerusalem is destined to again become a storm center of contending factions. The strange thing about it is that the possession of the Holy Sepulchre is lost sight of by considerations of matters wholly political. What effect will it have on England's Moslem dependencies?

For years, long before the war, the Holy Sepulchre Church, shielding the scenes of the passion and the death of the Lord, has been jointly controlled by the Roman Catholic, the Schimastic Greek or Russian Church, the Armenians and Copts, who are not in agreement and have, indeed, separate altars. Of course, there is no Christian unity. "They prove their teachings orthodox by apostolic blows and knocks." There have been conditions within the edifice amounting to scandal, as when the Greek Church assumes control at Easter to dole out sacred fire to light the lamps of pilgrims, who are led to believe that it is drawn from heaven by the priests concealed in the tabernacle. Remarkable to narrate, because of the lack of harmony, the Turk gave the key of the sepulchre to a Moslem, on whom they all agreed, and so Mohammed is nominally the gate-keeper of the Sacred Shrine!

But there is a sidelight which may account for so much tolerance. The followers of the prophet regard Jerusalem, in common with Mecca, as a holy city, and Abraham, Moses and Christ as true prophets. It was Abraham's son by Sarah, Isaac, whom the father attempted to sacrifice on the great stone, which is now, in situ, piously enclosed by the mosque of Omar, the fanatical Caliph. This mosque within the walls of Jerusalem, covers the site of the Temple

of Solomon. Abraham had another son by Hagar, known as Ishmael, the ancestor of the Ishmaelites, who are the present day Moslem Arabs numbering seven hundred thousand in Palestine against seventy to eighty thousand Jews and eight thousand Christians. These Arabs call Palestine their country, and bitterly resent the Zionist movement. England, which gave Palestine to the Jews by the Balfour Declaration, has just discovered that, in the language of Lord Northcliffe, it has "another Ireland" on its hands! England's right to Palestine as a mandatory has not been fully confirmed by the League of Nations, and she has been precipitate and blundering, according to many of her own critical statesmen. Lord Northcliffe, who until his recent visit to Jerusalem, was a Zionist, now calls a halt and demands an investigation. He fears that the Mohammedans are inflamed, and that they will imperil the British Empire's hold on India and Egypt. Furthermore, he has discovered that the British Army of Occupation (about four thousand five hundred English troops and three thousand five hundred loyal native troops) cost the English taxpayer two million five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually, and home politics are deeply affected by the extravagance of the Lloyd George administration. Demands are loudly made for cutting out this item.

The Jewry themselves, of course, are divided on Zionism, which is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to assist the imigration of principally Polish and Russian Jews—young men and women, accused, indeed, of Bolshevism—into Palestine. The Arabs get along very well with the resident Palestine Jews, not numerically for-

midable, but they cannot abide the strange men who come down from the north in a tide, deliberately to overwhelm the native population, and take the land. It is the old race question in a new environment. Everyone I met in Jerusalem opposed Zionism. In the bazaars I was handed tracts—one, addressed to Right Honorable Winston Churchill from the Executive Committee of the Third Arab Palestine Congress, states that England must recede; that she had contracted with King Hussein before contracting with the Zionists for Arab lands, and that the later transaction therefore has no validity. The consideration was that "King Hussein rose in revolt against the Turk and joined Britain and her allies, heedless of the fact that in so doing he was combating an Islamic power to whom he was bound by many strong and permanent ties." This made the victory of the allies over the Turks, they claim, easy, and now shall England prove perfidious? It will be seen that this is a serious situation.

As to the policy of Zionism from the Jewish standpoint, the advocates have a strong national consciousness, and, very reasonably, desire to give the oppressed Jews of Europe a refuge in their ancestral home. They are trying to put the immigrants, coming in at the rate, I am told, of a thousand a month, on the soil. They take the allotment, according to the current report, and employ Arabs to cultivate the land and harvest the crops, while they, accustomed only to trading, open a shop. In this way Palestine will never be properly settled by the Jews and the immigrants made self-supporting. They will continue, it is feared, dependent upon the generosity of their friends in foreign lands, and when this source fails they will be worse

off than before, and be at the same time surrounded by hostile elements.

So it is a nice question what should be done, but the Musselman opposition has weakened the British heart, and, without British arms, Palestine would be again a slaughter house.

In anticipation, apparently, of trouble, the Zionist organization is publicly accused of arming the Jews and smuggling pistols into Palestine. The Arabs show bitter resentment and warn the British Government to prevent it. I venture the opinion that the English will disappoint the hopes of the Zionists and leave them to their fate. In the face of these embarrassments, Zionists are now thinking that a mistake has probably been made—that they should have gone to a place where there are fewer problems.

It was a pleasing surprise to find in Jerusalem a co-operative colony of Americans, who dispense charity and cater to American tastes. Mr. Southard, our consul, had me to dinner at his comfortable home. He is one of a long line of American representatives the wide world round who confer distinction on the stars and stripes. "And they who before were as strangers, meeting in exile, become straightway as friends to each other, drawn by the gentle bond of a common country together."

Jerusalem, March 1, 1922.

ARTICLE XVI

Naples and Vesuvius

THERE ARE two things of over-mastering attraction that bring the traveler to Naples—the renowned beauty of its position, and the uncovered presence of its unfortunate neighbor, Pompeii. Whoever confesses disappointment at beholding these, confesses much that is personal to himself. He must either be far too fastidious or insensible to beauty—capital crimes in the decalogue of aestheticism.

Naples, though the most populous city in Italy, compares neither in history nor in architecture with its more northern sisters, and its renown, therefore, reflects not so much the genius and labor of its citizens, as the grand designs and faultless execution of nature. And, indeed, so jealous is nature of her work, that Vesuvius is apparently set to guard it, and, when man has ventured to "improve," his creations are summarily overthrown. But the instability of the earth does not stiflle exertion. There is a little town situated at the base of the mountain called Torre del Graeco. It has been destroyed by streams of lava fre-

quently, but has always been rebuilt, giving a remarkable example of the tenacity with which the people cling to these fatal parts, and their innured indifference to danger. The Neapolitans, comparatively, have been fortunate, and jibe their neighbors by saying that, while they do the sinning, Graeco pays the penalty! The existence of the volcano, nevertheless, and the graves of the buried cities, give a temporary aspect to everything, and, naturally, deter men from erecting monumental edifices. So, looking at Naples from the bay, it appears as though it were constructed of children's blocks, for the houses are uniformly square, with flat roofs and consecutive rows of cheerless windows. But, such as they are, they creep in clusters over the hills and gracefully swing around the beautiful curve of the bay, giving a purpose and utility to the sheltering mountains and obedient tide. And however unhandsome these houses may be, in an artistic sense, they are quite as necessary for the completion of the picture as for the uses of habitation. But there are few who are not familiar with the configuration of this delightful country, either from actually having seen it, or from the numerous counterfeit presentments everywhere exhibited. The Bay of Naples seems to be a favorite subject for artists, perhaps, because, while their imagination may run wild, they can never exaggerate its charm nor its coloring. There are hours when pigments utterly fail to reproduce the scene, no matter how impressed or competent the artist may be. For the beauty at this time depends not so much on the outline, the sickle of houses and the mountains, as on the effect of the sunlight, the warm sky, the pellucid waters, and, above all, on the dying glory of the day. At sunset, the most ex-

quisite tints are given indiscriminately to everything. The white fronts of the houses are as so many canvases for the great ingener, whose palette is the sun, whose brush the rays. He glasses himself in the stilled surface of the bay. The wreaths of smoke, emitted fitfully from the sublime Vesuvius, are colored; and, as the rising winds sweep the summit, they seem to be waving signals of distress.

But this rare landscape would elicit little praise were it not for the Italian sky. It is a physical masterpiece, but were it not thus painted, it would not be exclusive in its pride of beauty. If San Francisco Bay were equally favored, it would not brook a Neapolitan rival. Indeed, there are many points of resemblance between the two, and their difference, with the exception of the climate, is not unfavorable to the superiority of San Francisco Bay. The bay at Naples is partly protected from the sea, to which it broadly opens, by the islands of Capri and Ischia; the Bay of San Francisco has its islands, and, therefore, does not yield in picturesqueness, while it has, besides, an incomparable gateway leading to the trackless ocean, of which Naples cannot boast. If what is beautiful gains, as surely it does, by being useful, San Francisco bay must be allowed preeminence on account of the matchless extent and security of its landlocked harbor.

It is true, Naples has Vesuvius, but is not Vesuvius a tyrant that compels rather than deserves admiration? It may be grand and awful—like Alexander and Napoleon in the heroic world. As Milton says, "what do these worthies but kill, murder and destroy peaceable cities?" Tamalpais and Diablo have all its stern grandeur, without its ferocity. Not like a bully do they stand, with smoking pistol, fresh

from slaughter, overawing a city. Then, wherefore must they yield?

But, while following out the likeness and difference between these two parts of the earth, to be fair we cannot but mention a point of similarity between our country to-day and this country in past times, and against which we were just congratulating ourselves. Both Central California and Southern Italy are of undoubted volcanic origin, and it is quite certain that the subterranean forces have not spent themselves. While this is a truism about Naples, clear evidences of both propositions are not wanting in California. The testimony of geologists support the one, and the frequent earthquakes the other. Within even the memory of man, how many shocks have demonstrated that there were gases moving restlessly beneath the surface of California, seeking an outlet. In connection with the fact that just such earthquakes were the premonitory symptoms of the great and fatal eruption of 79 A. D., which overwhelmed Pompeii, Stabiae and other cities, it leaves us only to conclude that, in all physical probability, some one of the mountains adjacent to San Francisco may develop into an active volcano, and Lassen, not far away, has done so. Because for centuries prior to 79 A. D. Vesuvius had been quiescent, the people of Campania did not suspect that the great mountain, on whose sides were their villas and vineyards, was a merciless engine of destruction. So when the many earthquakes culminated in the very severe one of A. D. 63, still unconscious of their danger, they set to work to build anew their prostrate dwellings and temples, and signs of this reconstruction may be seen everywhere in Pompeii to-day.

Sixteen years later, however, these pent-up gasses no longer shook the earth, but opened it and escaped, and through the crater of Vesuvius have been issuing, to a greater or less extent, ever since. Thus, the volcano, with Aetna and Stromboli, has become the safety valve for this part of Italy; and in California Lassen is now a hostage to fortune. Our geysers tell of the presence of threatening gasses and serve to relieve the earth of them. But how threatening must they appear when all know that the subterranean fires are burning beneath and that all volcanoes, on account of their proximity, draw their supply of steam from the limitless sea. For it is established that, on the occasion of eruptions, there is a connection made between the fires and the waters, and that steam is the force which expels so furiously the lava, ashes and burning scoriae from the volcanic abyss. Let this once accumulate sufficiently, and if there be no adequate means of escaping, Mount Diablo may, perhaps, show some reason for its name. There is one consolation in this thought. If Central California be visited by the devastating grandeur of a volcanic eruption, the days of earthquakes will have passed, and San Francisco, like Naples, will have a smoking mountain for tourist trade, the crop inexhaustible. Volcanoes are by no means unmixed evils. If they indicate plainly that fires burn below, they are for a long time a specific against their bad effects. Then again, they are of value in view of that contingency predicted by philosophers, which Byron so gloomily bodes forth in his poem "Darkness." He conceives of the time when "the bright sun will be extinguished, and stars will wander, darkling, in the eternal space, rayless and pathless." Then

he says, "Happy will they be who live within the light of the volcano and its mountain torch!"

While it is true that strangers are nervous in the awful presence of Vesuvius, the natives pay no heed whatever to the blood-guilty pile. Of course, no matter what may be their misgivings, all tourists make the ascent during their stay, and it is with trepidation that they stand upon the crust of the active crater, hear the rumblngs and see the convulsion. Steam and sulphurous vapors come up in great puffs and are borne off by the wind. Accompanying these are showers of stone, often red with heat, which fall back into the spacious opening with the rattling sound of musketry. And you descend, awfully impressed with what you have seen—the threatening groans, the stupendous pulsation, the suppressed power of this inanimate monster, which has all the characteristics of the animate. And you fancy, with John Randolph, that the world, after all, is a gigantic animal, the rocks and mountains its bones and sinews, the rivers its veins, the trees and forests its hair, and the men and beasts noxious insects which infest it! Here, then, in this yawning crater you would perhaps locate its mouth, which had devoured, for its food, in other years, the blooming cities of Campania.

But, again, according to a high authority, we may find consolation in higher culture and better morals. Seismic disturbances excite the imagination and stimulate art, literature and religion, according to Buckle in his "History of Civilization." He points out the wealth of imaginative works in Italy and the Spanish peninsula, and the fervency of religious devotion, as compared with the colder and more stable lands, geologically older and, therefore, less

spontaneous. The close contact with Nature and the uncertainty of mundane things, causing often fatalities and always fear, puts Southern Europe on a high moral and literary eminence. It has been observed that California has shown a wonderful fertility of mind and matter. She resembles and emulates Italy and Spain in climate, as well as in artistic achievement. The rest of the country, doubtless, needs a "shaking up."

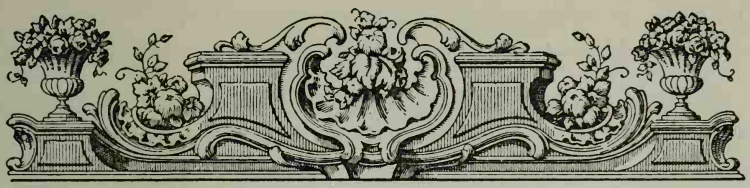
But, while we are discussing volcanic manifestations, we cannot overlook the fact that Vesuvius is only the climax of numerous indications of intense heat which are everywhere encountered in this region, and which, in warm springs and gaseous exhalations, bear out the resemblance to California which I before noted.

Travel from Naples in an opposite direction from the mountain, and the extinct crater of Solfatara is met with, where gases and mineral water exude from the lava-strewn earth, not unlike the manner of California Geysers. Hard by are grottos in which carbonic acid gas and ammonia is given out in a free state, and a little beyond is the Monte Nuova, 500 feet high, which was cast up in a single night less than 200 years ago.

Along this coast was situated the favorite watering-place of the Romans—Baiae—resorted to for pleasure and health, but there is little remaining to merit the lavish encomiums of the ancients. The sea has encroached upon the land, and the temples and villas are viewed only in their melancholy ruins. But the small bay, still fair in outline, though barren of gay argosies, might well have deserved the praise of Horace, that it was the most beautiful in the world. By far the most interesting object in

the vicinage of Baiae is the Lake Avernus, the fabled entrance to Hades, whither Aeneas went, led by the sibyl, and whose descent we know, proverbially, to be easy. You approach, expecting a gloomy and repulsive sight, but, in pleasant surprise, look upon peaceful waters most regularly encased, reflecting the blue sky above, and indicating nothing of the terrors of Tartarus. And, even now, as in the sweet Arcadian days, the vine is cultivated on the hills, and the goatherds are happy in their simple life.

> "O, Pluto! if this be hell I look upon
> Close shamed Elysium's gates, my shade shall seek for none."



ARTICLE XVII

Rome

THERE is something appealing in the glamour of greatness, the traditional halo, which, coming down from the ages, illumines the dim past and makes it glorious. Of all the old cities, I am disposed to believe that Rome is the most interesting. One rarely thinks of it as the capital of United Italy, but as the capital of the Roman Empire, which once comprised the known world. All that we learned at school is visualized. Still on the Capitol is the bronze representation of Romulus and Remus; the she-wolf snarls at the intruder, giving warning, just as the geese had apprised the Romans of the approaching foe. They say that an American schoolgirl, when asked what object she most admired in the "Eternal City" said, "The big dog at the Capitol." "But, there is no big dog at the Capitol," she was told. "Yes," she insisted, "there is a big dog there giving nourishment to Romeo and Juliet." Perhaps, later, she identified the lovers more correctly in the City of Verona, where the sentimental still lay wreaths upon the graves of the unhappy scions of Capulet and Montague.

But, after its historical associations, Rome seems to be the abiding place of art, because, apart from the fact of its own monuments, its museums contain the greatest works of the ancients extant. On the Pincian Hill, the Villa Medici houses the French Academy, where young Frenchmen find residence, having won, in competition, the famous "Prix de Rome." The most promising men in painting, sculpture, music and architecture, enjoy a three years' residence, with studio, traveling expenses and a goodly sum in addition, and, in this environment, free from the cares of the morrow, they have time to think and to develop without any compulsion.

McKim and Burnham, the great American architects, associated with others, duplicated the French Academy on the Janiculum Hill, and called it the "American Academy," where, under the direction of Mr. Stevens, prize pupils from the United States (of which there are thirty-six at present), enjoy the same conditions of tranquility, and are only required to show their principal work at the Annual Exhibition. A two million dollar fund has been raised, land purchased, buildings erected, and a beautiful villa, the "Aurelia" has been added to the group of buildings, the gift of an American lady. Its support has come from the states of the Union voluntarily contributed.

It is a delight to wander among the studios located in Rome. In the hospitable home of Sculptor Hendrick Christian Andersen, who has wrought colossal works, for sheer love of Art, and to gratify his exuberant imagination, I found four framed photographs, bound together, in different attitudes, of the Cyrene Venus, which he, eminent critic, one among many, declared to be the most beautiful

sculpture in the world. This rare creation of an unknown sculptor was found in the American excavations at Cyrene, near Tripoli, an ancient Greek settlement, as late as December, 1917. It is without head or arms, but it is believed that the head has recently been found in the vicinity. It dates perhaps back to the Fifth Century before Christ, and is now exhibited in the Museo Della Terme in Rome. One critic has said of it—which is the secret of its fascinating quality, "There is so much life in the Cyrene Venus, and the marble is so much like real flesh, that one can almost see the muscles under the epidermis. It is this miracle of form which makes it possible that this is an original Greek work, despite the large and rather ugly feet." Most critics put it above the Venus of Medici and her ladyship of Milo.

In many respects, the greatest known group was discovered in 1506 in the reign of Pope Julius the II., and, so great was the rejoicing, that it was borne to the Belvedere in the Vatican amidst the clanging of bells and holiday demonstrations by the people.

Pliny had seen it in Rome in the First Century, and described it as "A marvelous work of art," and then it was lost for nearly fifteen hundred years.

At this period the Vatican was enriched by a succession of wonderful antique discoveries, and Raphael and Michalangelo were deeply influenced by them. In fact, the commentator, André Maurel, said that these men of genius would not have borne fruit, had they not received "the kiss of the Belvedere."

The Laocoön represents the death of the Priest of Apollo and his two sons, who had in vain warned the Trojans, 1184 B.C., against accepting the gift of a wooden horse,

within which the Greeks had secreted soldiers, who, after they had entered the city, at a given signal, opened the gates and allowed to pass the Grecian host, whereupon a terrible slaughter ensued, and the city was taken.

It is the work of three masters of the Island of Rhodes, Agesander, Athenodorus and Polydorus. The Laocoön, himself, is the center of the group, and seeks to repel the serpents, who have sprung from the shore to devour him and his sons. His hitherto energetic resistance has begun to fail, and "his noble head is raised in mournful resignation to Heaven, as though to ask the Gods why they had condemned hin to so terrible a fate." The younger son, on his right, is already in the last agonies of death, the other bravely fighting.

Gotthold Ephriam Lessing, the great German critic, has written a volume on this subject. He says of the group, "It must have been made when art was at its perfection, because it is worthy of that period."

Pliny said of it:

> "A work which may be considered superior to all others in painting and statuary."—Lib. xxxvi., C. 4.

And Shelley:

> "The subject of the Laocoön is a disagreeable one, but, whether we consider the grouping or the execution, nothing that remains to us of antiquity can surpass it."

After gazing upon it in the Vatican, and studying its significance, I sought and purchased a full-sized copy—the only one in Rome—which I had shipped to California, because, apart from its beauty as a work of art, it carried the lesson of the Trojan horse. The Laocoön may well

personify California, after vainly protesting Washington, seeking protection for his children on the shores of the Pacific, only to be overwhelmed by the invading hosts that come out of the sea; or it might as well symbolize world conditions today—the peril of Western civilization.

I wandered one day into the studio of Ernesto Gazzeri, and saw in a corner a severed head, which I at once recognized as that of General Ulysses S. Grant. The sculptor, not knowing its identity, explained that he had purchased it at the sale of the effects of the well-known American sculptor, the late Franklin Simmons. I carried it away as a prize, after having contracted for its proper mounting. So are the mighty fallen! Like "Imperial Caesar, dead and turned to clay," the sculptor only considered the heroic head of Grant as raw material!

But what of modern art and architecture?

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the great War has diminished production, both quality and quantity. In the display in the rooms of the Belli Arti, which is practically the equivalent of the French Salon, one is painfully disappointed. Paris is far ahead of Rome, and holds her position unchallenged. Perhaps, after all, there is something in the theory that, living in the very presence of ancient art, contemporary art is dwarfed. Or, striving to escape the classic, artists have become sensational and freakish. The pretentious Roman memorial to the first Victor Emanuel shocks one's sense of proportion. The vast granite structure, decorated with golden statues, thrown into the Corso, is a violent contrast to what remains of the ancient City and the mellowed medieval palaces which rise on every side. In a city of domes and spires, the sky-line of the

memorial is inharmonious. If Victor Emanual were really a great man, like Napoleon, the vain attempt of his countrymen to exalt him might be a justification for the excess, but, the unhandsome corpulence of this man, who typifies an ideal, is thrust upon you on every hand until you exclaim with Cassius, "Do Rome's wide walls encompass but one man!"

I received the same impression in Athens, when I saw the feeble attempts of the modern Greek to live up to the simple and noble standards of the Classic Age. The modern Academy is a "stale, flat and unprofitable" imitation, pinched and insignificant. The same may be said of the National University, the Library and the Exhibition Palace. It is the lack of scale that offends. The modern artists, in fine, do not compare in the eternal fitness of things with their progenitors.

Not so, however, of "the hand that rounded Peter's Dome." St. Peter's is the greatest building in the world, and never disappoints. It is, however, too vast for devotional purposes, and it is scandalous to behold, as I did, on Easter morning, while Mass was being celebrated at the main altar and other services at subordinate shrines, a mob surging hither and thither—irritating and pestiferous as insects, in this awful presence. It is a shock to the uninitiated American to learn, of his own experience, that there is apparently no devotion in Rome. In the mob it is mechanical mummery. Perhaps Rome itself is at fault for taxing the credulity of visitors, which often leads to unseemly levity.

But still, Rome has a very serious and important aspect which may be called spiritual. It is pervaded with sanctity,

and the sincere are greatly edified and consoled by it. Every nation has its college in the city for the education of priests, and the neophytes, clad in different colors according to their nationality, may be seen moving about, literally in flocks. Their long gowns confer a certain amount of dignity. They go to the College of the Propaganda for instruction from their several homes, and return when the day is done.

I had the pleasure of taking luncheon at the American College, which represents our Country in the "Eternal City," better, I believe, than would an appointed delegate. They have the ear of the Propaganda, and constantly render kindly offices to visiting friends.

I have spoken of irreverence, but, perhaps, in a city where there is a church for every day in the year, one soon becomes surfeited with ceremonial, and the pomp and grandeur often reacts unfavorably upon the lay mind. When a mendicant monk was received at the court of the Vatican, the story is told that the Pope, observing his astonishment, exclaimed, "It can not now be said of the Church, 'silver and gold have I none!'" "Nor," retorted the monk, "can it be commanded, 'Take up your bed and walk!'"

To bring the visitor back convincingly to the thought of mortality which the Misericordia seeks to impress, for instance, by funeral parades, members of the order sit within the hearse, chanting, "Brothers, you must die!" The Capuchin Order has gone farther, and displays conspicuously the bleached bones of their dead. The tawdry trappings of court and temple sink into insignificance by the side of skull and skeleton!

I visited the Capuchin Cemetery in the basement of

their church, close to the Excelsior Hotel, the center of all gaiety, not to be impressed by the mystery of death so much as to study the gruesome subject here illustrated of "interior decoration." The bones of the departed monks are artistically arranged in a series of cells and actually compose a picture of beautiful designs. The wishbones curve gracefully about the pelvics and the detached vertebra gives the finishing touch. The leg and arm bones make fancy chandeliers, and the skulls look down upon you from an elaborated cornice.

"You are bones, but what of that?
Every face, however, full,
Padded round with flesh and fat,
Is but modeled on a skull!"

The Egyptian mummies are but imperfectly embalmed. But, if you are interested in gazing upon the faces of the dead, at Assisi look into the coffin of Santa Clara; or, in Rome, ask the attendant at the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore to open for you, as he did for me, the bronze sarcophagus of Pius V. It is not repulsive, although startling. You see them as they looked in life. The process of preservation is, I believe, now a lost art.

At Naples, for ten liras, the church sexton will open the coffin of the great Caruso, whose already discolored face is shockingly made a show for the morbid and the curious.

I bought an ancient sarcophagus in Rome for use as garden furniture, to enhance, if possible—by contrast—the beauty of living things. It might be equivocal to say that I did not purchase it for my own purpose, but for the pleasure of my friends.

Perhaps, the spiritual value of these reminders of death is to divorce one from the selfish pursuits of life. But it has been well said that there is no progress in the individual where the power of death to destroy life is not conquered in thought and feeling. At the end of the toilsome day, without any other promptings, the ambitious spirit might, like Alexander, seek larger worlds to conquer. This is where religion has an "inning." In fact, our American philosopher Thoreau has eloquently said, "When a man has traveled, when he has robbed the horizon of his native fields of their mystery and trampled the blue of the distant mountains with his feet, he begins to think of another world."

I arrived in Rome just after the inauguration of Pius XII, formerly Cardinal Ratti of Milan, when he addressed the Roman populace from the balcony of St. Peter's for the first time since the disagreement with the Italian government, which was everywhere regarded as an olive branch of peace. And, contrary to former custom, when the King of the Belgians, the gallant Albert, came to Rome, he visited both the Quirinal and the Vatican on the same day. So the rapprochement is substantially a *fait accompli*.

I was in the Holy City during Easter. The ceremonial institutions of the past were well maintained, and, at an audience, I was presented to his Holiness, who was quite accessible to visiting Americans, through the agency of the American College and the Paulist Fathers, who have just established, in the old and beautiful shrine of Santa Susanna, adjoining the American Embassy, a church where English is spoken and where Americans are made to feel at home. The obliging and gentle Father O'Neill, some time President of the Newman Club at Berkeley, California, is the Rector.

The new pontiff is a man of sturdy physical frame and of benevolent and kindly presence. He speaks many languages, including English, and takes a lively interest in the welfare of the universal church in America.

The great apartments of the Vatican, the group of Roman Nobles who had just been presented, the liveried officials and the Swiss guards, robed in a costume designed by Michael Angelo himself, gave one a lasting impression of Spiritual Rome, where the successor of St. Peter—the last of an unbroken line of Pontiffs—reigns in a worthy environment of beauty and magnificence.

I had, on a later occasion, a rare opportunity of also paying tribute to Caesar.

Through our Ambassador, one morning at 9:30 o'clock, I was summoned to the Quirinal Palace for an audience with King Victor Emanuel III., and remained with his Majesty for half an hour alone. He expressed a desire some day to visit America, although his obligations at home were manifold and embarrassing. He said frankly he was not his own master. This is something upon which to reflect. Entering by the grand stairway of the Palazzo Real, lined with chamberlains and soldiers at attention, I was shown to a great room, decorated with superb tapestries, in the center of which stood the King, unattended, the ruler of a proud realm of ancient renown and modern achievement—United Italy. And yet, he was not his own master! He could not have avoided his high estate, as he is a hereditary monarch. But how alluring must be the fascination of power, when lesser mortals gleefully seek high office, which, if regarded as a trust, condemns them to the slavery of service. The world does not regard it as a

sacrifice, but as a triumph. I am sure that there is not a hereditary monarch who would not welcome freedom of action, which seems, however, irreconcilable with responsibility. His Majesty threw himself on a huge divan, and, being short of stature, his feet were lifted high above the floor, and, in a most democratic and informal way, discussed the War—where he at the front had shown himself to be a devoted leader of his people—and he enquired about America, where so many Italians have found a permanent home.

Among other things he said was that the Italians, in the War, had been making great progress at the time the Armistice was signed; that they had a "Big Bertha" ready to hurl missils seventy-five geographical miles across the Adriatic. He discussed for some time the battle of Gallipoli, challenging the figures which I had given him (on the authority of the captain of my ship, as we passed by the tragic spot in the Dardanelles a few days before, who said that there were two hundred thousand casualties among the Australians and New Zealanders). I have since ascertained that the number was nearly one hundred thousand. He said that Rome had a population, with its environs, of more than seven hundred thousand, and compared its size with San Francisco. With gratification, he told me that the Roman campagna, once miasmatic and deserted, was being rapidly developed for agriculture; that houses were springing up in every direction.

When told that it was contemplated to dig a tunnel under San Francisco Bay, he said that he was considering a project for doing the same thing under the Straits of Messina, to connect Sicily with Italy, and spoke with

sorrow of the seventy thousand killed in the earthquake at Messina, and was astonished at the small number who perished in the San Francisco disaster, which I estimated at less than one thousand. He said that a sailor from San Francisco on board a ship had told him, at the time, graphically—but exaggeratedly—the story of the California City soon after the catastrophe.

Having told him that I had seen him frequently in 1883 riding horseback in the park of the Borghese Villa, he said, "You must have been a small boy," and complimented me by saying, "I am fifty-two, but you look much younger." He evidently is an accomplished diplomatist.

He was very much interested in road building, and explained that Italian highways are made of stone or macadam, because they had no asphalt, and that, during the war, the heavy trucks, carrying cannon, crushed not only the roads, but fractured the bridges.

There is one California institution, besides the earthquake, of which he had heard, and that is the Bank of Italy, a corporation, corpulent and centipedal, having, with its ramifications, spread all over California, and attained the ranking position among Western banks. I am told that he has offered decorations to its founder, Mr. Amadeo P. Giannini, who has modestly declined them.

The Royal Family of young Prince and Princesses (five in number) perpetuate the beauty of their Mother, as well as that of the Queen Mother, the stately Margarita, still a familiar figure in Rome. They all officiate in the Palace, open for all, on the occasion of an annual charity fete, so they are not wholly withdrawn from the public gaze, and so cultivate a gracious relationship to the people.

It was whispered that the Prince of Wales was about to be affianced to the charming Princess Yolanda, but difference of religion, based upon the unflinching English law, prevented the fulfillment of the romance, and, perhaps, now it is said, she shall wed, since Royal houses in Europe are disappearing in the wreck of revolution, the son of the most distinguished Roman Senator, Prince Colonna, whom I had the honor of meeting at a luncheon given by my friend Signor Cerrutti, who played an important part in Washington during the World War.

Our Ambassador, Richard Washburn Child, has reflected honor on the American name, and seems to be the chosen representative of the United States at all important conferences, where the great nations are represented by their cleverest diplomatists. He avoids "entangling alliances" by special orders from Washington and is assigned a peep-hole—far from "the Holy of Holies"—lest by closer contact he be led astray.

But American women have made may "matrimonial alliances," without let or hindrance, and have transferred their residences to beautiful villas and castles which dot the incomparable Italian landscape. Such "entanglements," however, have led to better understandings between men and women of divers nationalities, and, doubtless served a humanizing purpose by softening international prejudices, just as travel generally does.

An American woman, the Princess Eugenia Ruspoli, who has hied herself to a castle on the famous Lake Nemi, where Julius Caesar had his villa, entertains Americans and introduces them to the wonders of the Alban Hills. She is typical of many who add much to the charm of social life in the City of Caesars and Pontiffs.

At the hotels and private palaces entertainment follows entertainment in dazzling succession, and the Lucullian traditions are preserved by a brilliant society which madly drives across the scene like an affrighted spirit lest the slumbering past be desecrated by too much levity. Modernity is everywhere in relief against antiquity.

I had the pleasure of meeting a host of Russian Emigrés—now impoverished, but cultured and proud—who added much to the social eclat. In the company conspicuous was Prince Yousoupoff, whose friends boasted of the fact that he had slain the disreputable Rasputin whose sinister influence darkened the last days of the Czarina..

Let the visitor go at night to the Basilica Ulpia, close to the Forum of Trajan, a restaurant in an ancient shrine, whose domed roof rises high above you, and whose subbasement rests upon the very pavement of Ancient Rome, which stands uncovered and revealed. Or, go to the cafe Castella di Caesare, on a spur of the Palatine Hill—overlooking the Roman Forum and the Palace of the Caesars. It is not on the menu, but here you will find food for thought!

Then, to escape from the gloom of retrospection, go to the race track or the Opera House, which brings you back, with a start, to the modern world. In the Villa Borghese you will find exhibitions of superb horsemanship which will give you a thrill; or, in the famous rag market, you will probably find what you have been looking for during your waking hours of travel—a bargain, or a "rare find." You must have no scruples, however, because they say that the rag market is a fence for thieves. All sorts of objects are offered here for sale at little booths spread in a

public square, by the consent of the municipal authorities, for a few weeks at a time. And, doubtless, since the War, impoverished families have found it a means for the disposal of precious treasures, which they can no longer afford to keep.

As I was led to say of Rome, at the beginning of my wanderings, that, many sided—historic, artistic, social—it meets every demand, and stands almost alone, in these respects, among modern cities. This has spontaneously led Byron to exclaim, in which he speaks for all cosmopolites—almost with affection—"Oh Rome! My country! City of the soul! The orphans of the heart must turn to thee, lone mother of dead Empires." Lost in the labyrinth of a complex civilization of doubt and death, of art and society, we turn to Rome. She has something with which to gratify all her children, and that, possibly, is the secret of her charm.

ARTICLE XVIII

Monte Carlo

"I can easier teach twenty what were good to be done
Than one of twenty to follow mine own teaching."

THERE are few more attractive places in Europe during the winter months than the Riviera dí Ponente, that part of France and Italy, fronting on the Mediterranean and facing the south. There, along a coast line rounded by bays and broken by promontories, are the beautiful towns of Cannes, Nice, Monaco and Mentone. For the most part they are in nooks and clefts, embraced by terraced, olive-clad hills, which serve the double purpose of reflectnig the warm sun, and opposing a barrier to the incursions by winter winds. Thus favored, the whole coast enjoys a climate equable and dry; and when to this is added that which follows from it, namely a fruitful earth and an appreciative population, the luxuriance of nature and the magnificence of artifice, are not a matter of surprise.

But, of these towns, none are as chamring as Monaco, which occupies a central place almost equi-distant from Nice and Mentone, and is, in its position and possessions,

the most unique feature of the Riviera. Tolerated by France and Italy, it is the smallest principality in Europe, having a limited jurisdiction over an area, some six square miles in extent. Over its destinies presides the House of Grimaldi, which, though in territorial importance, it may be small, yet on history's page is large; for the renown of its warriors on field and flood is well authenticated. The stronghold of Monaco is itself the palpable evidence of the military prestige and skill of its ancient house, and remains to-day one of the most interesting relics of medieval Europe.

On a neck of rock extending into the sea and surrounded towering walls of massive architecture, the city and citadel are situated. The sea makes it almost an island, and, from the watery surface, the land rises abruptly several hundred feet. Besides this natural advantage, the walls, growing like an engrafted stem, spring from the oblique rocks and appear majestically in turrets and battlements. It is a very pretty sight—but that is all it is. We can conceive of the time when it was a defense against which no enemy could prevail, but the flood of years has brought an enemy who antagonizes things rather than men: Science has rendered this absolutely secure position of one century the mere curiosity of another.

But, leaving Monaco, and moving westwardly, the high line of coast descends, and, after making a graceful bend, rises shortly in the height and promontory of Monte Carlo. This is the soul of the Riviera. The absence of wide fields is atoned for in the concentration of loveliness. "The sky's eternal calm, the ceaseless droop and rustle of the palm," acquaint you of your tropical habita-

tion. The villas and hotels suggest splendor; the whole, beauty. Yet, it perhaps would be imprudent, notwithstanding the enchanting aspect of the scene, to affirm that Monte Carlo is beautiful, for it might argue a disrespect for the opinions of others. If, as we have been told, "beauty is in the eye of the beholder," it depends very much upon the man whether a thing or place is beautiful or not; and, as at Monte Carlo there are many circumstances which influence private judgment, it would be rash to pronounce an opinion as coming from all. As Oscar Wilde would say by way of compromise—"It is as beautiful as the Seven Deadly Sins."

The first impression made—though subject consistently to change—is often a very fair picture without fault or flaw, while last impressions magnify error, after growing familiar with beauty. This truth is eminently so here. The stranger, looking on Monte Carlo and its attractions for the first time, is very reasonably carried away by rapture, and, in the fascinating type of worldly pleasure presented, deems himself in the possession of promised bliss. But the stranger going away can no longer see the charm, and says, as Cassio said of the cup that relieved him of his senses, "If thou hast no other to be known by, let us call the devil."

You have not far to go to ascertain the reason of the change. On the promontory, with its palms, olives and aloes, is situated the Casino, the Serpent in the Garden, in whose gorgeous salons gaming, in its most luring forms, attracts the stranger and makes him contribute to the splendor with which he was first impressed. It is the remembrance of the contributions which probably affects his perceptions when taking his leave.

But a word of the famous Casino. I believe it was in 1860 that M. Louis Blanc, catering to a universal desire to defeat the primal curse and prosper without labor, inaugurated this splendid establishment. Lord Brougham must have known well the gentleman, for previous to that enterprise, he styled him the "first financier in France." The judgment is here vindicated, if money-making by dubious means may be called skillful financiering. It is doubtful whether, before or since, money has ever been made with less risk and exertion than here in this gay palace of illegitimate gain. Gold and silver are literally "raked in," and this process is the only labor expended upon the fabulously fertile *tapis vert* which fairly blooms with coins of all nations. Over Three Million Dollars were quietly made last year, and this was exclusive of the One Thousand Five Hundred Dollars daily required to maintain the establishment. And, besides this outlay, largesses are bountifully given to the Prince; and, so generous are these, that his highness remits all taxes to his people and affords them protection, comfort and happiness without expense. Verily, the man who loses at play is a benefactor!

In the gaming room there are few restrictions put upon visitors. However, to gain admittance, it is necessary to be of age and not a permanent resident of the district. Their charity, be it noticed, does not extend further than home. Commercial travelers are excluded, on account of the money not their own which they are supposed to possess, and those alone are encouraged who, not wanting what is stolen, may be robbed without remorse.

Entering the *salle de jeu*, one's interest is at once enlisted. There are four tables visible. Around them is a throng

intently watching the game. The first row of players, is seated, the others stand. The chink of the coin and the voices of the croupiers, directing the game, are the only sounds heard. The silence is a feature of the place. It is like at an execution where there are many victims and all die game. The pocket-books may be the trunks from which the coins (with their stamped heads) are severed, and stoically suppress the pain. Then, there are many promenaders enjoying a respite, and here and there throughout the rooms are attendants who look searchingly at all that enter. The reason of their surveillance is the same as that which explains the use of oil for lighting the tables. It seems that a few years ago the lights were all extinguished and a bomb exploded, at the same time, causing a stampede among the visitors. The tables, however, were not deserted by the bankers, and the grosser robbers were baffled. Therefore, it is not economy that causes oil to be used, for the word here is obsolete; nor is it because the salon is a holy place, for it is not; but because darkness, wonderful to narrate, is inimical to their business!

But, approaching nearer a table, we see that the game is roulette, and that it is conducted very simply. In the center is a whirligig with an ivory ball. It is whirled in one direction and the ball in another. When it comes to rest, the ball has fallen in a pocket which denotes the winning number. On the green cloth, on either side, is drawn a quadrangular figure, with squares inclosed and numbered from one to thirty-six. On these squares the money is put. Then the croupier cries, "*Faites votre jeu*!" and the wheel goes around. If you have bet on a single number and are successful, you receive thirty-five times your stake; if on

four numbers, and any one is denoted, you gain eight times your risk; if upon six, five, and so on. There is one zero, which registers "a frost, a chilling frost" for the players, its unwelcome presence giving all the money on the numbers to the insatiable bank.

There are many other plays, as on the first, second and last dozen, black and white, even and uneven numbers; but they are resorted to only by the timid, the chance being many and the rewards small.

But, a word as to the personnel of those engaged. More than half the players—and it is a common surprise—are of the daughters of Eve. Scanning their tell-tale faces, which record every emotion within, you may readily read the fortunes of the day. There are many ladies who are punctilious enough except in this—they have the passion for play, and propriety, generally so tyrannical, is successfully resisted here. But the recklessness of the greater numbers of women would indicate that their money comes as illegitimately as it goes. Of the men, there is little to say. They bet the highest, and, therefore, lose the most. A story is current here of a noble scion of an English house who was on a tour around the world. He lost all his money in one night, and, sorrowfully telegraphed to his mother to send more, giving out that his purse was lost. In the meantime, a friend supplying him, he played again, and, to his satisfaction, won even more than he had previously lost. He now telegraphed, "Do not send money; purse found," and continued the game. Nightfall saw, however, his capital and increment missing, and he wired to his now confused mother, "Do send money; purse found, as

stated, but nothing in it." This might be an everyday occurrence—if everyone had a responsive mother.

It may be asked, "If loss is inevitable, why do people play?" The answer which little Johnny made the minister who told him to be a good boy may suffice. He said, "Yes, sir, but I will lose a heap of fun." Most people may perceive the danger, but not until they have enjoyed the excitement. There are recorded cases of men, who, in the world, were recognized forces, but here lost fortunes, by reason of those very traits which had made them great. In gaming, perseverence and constancy are not virtues, and it is these glorious errors which destroy.

But what keeps the game flourishing, more, perhaps, than any other cause, is the mistaken wisdom of many who have faith in certain numbers, after falsely applying logic to chance. These persons may be seen at any time, with book in hand, recording successful numbers and figuring upon combinations. Within a given period they claim that every number on the board will be denoted, and they bet on those which have not recently appeared. This is their system, essentially, although their explication is more abstruse. Luck cannot be governed by rules, and it is their delusion which nourishes the establishment. But, as "despair makes victims sometimes victors," men do win. But success is a false light which leads to irretrievable ruin for who, having won, would desert; and who, having persistence, survives?

The passive encouragement given Monte Carlo by the French and Italian Governments is most reprehensible. There is an international society for the suppression of public gaming, which has already done good work, and is

now applying its forces here. Under the pressure of popular condemnation, similarly conducted establishments have given way along the banks of the Rhine; and with the fall of Monte Carlo gaming will be relegated to its proper habitat—from the sunshine to the shade. Its evils are manifest; for, allowing even that the player has none dependent upon him—no wife, no children—yet, where loss is certain, the man should be protected against himself. As a matter of public policy, it should be restrained, for it has a tendency to discourage labor and establish false values. Details are here out of place; but the injunction of Bulwer covers the ground on which gaming may be condemned, "Do not treat money affairs with levity."

Monte Carlo, shorn of its tables, would still be beautiful, and attractive, too, if some good providence would only temper the tastes of the gay world. The gorgeous theatre, the unrivaled orchestra, the tropical surroundings, might be sufficient to attract, but I doubt very much if the same sportive throng—so representative of Parisian civilization—could be assembled in the Casino after the danger which they loved had passed, and the fruit which was forbidden is no more.

ARTICLE XIX

Carlsbad

THE RENOWN of Carlsbad in Europe is as wide as the love of life in humanity is deep; and as long as the sick entertain the hope to be well, and the well to be better, this watering-place shall continue to attract pilgrims from the four quarters of the globe; and, as in California, there are many mineral springs of great value, it may be both of interest and profit to you to learn something of this far-famed spa—what it is like and why it is liked. In large cities too many believe that the drug-store is the fountain of health (and the good doctors somehow do not undeceive them); and so it is that, in a land where natural medicinal springs well up on all sides, they are rarely resorted to for cure purposes, and if so, ignorantly.

But the appreciation in which Carlsbad is held—and I am confident there are equally good waters in America—ought to awaken some interest in these natural springs, which, with its climate, entitle California, for instance, so well equipped is she—to be the Sanitarium of America, if not of the world.

Carlsbad is situated 1200 feet above the sea, and in a

ravine which separates the hills forming the southern boundary of the extensive Valley of the Eger, and comprises the most picturesque tract in all Bohemia. Through this ravine, a small mountain stream, "never too grave to smile, too tired to run," finds its way, bearing lightly its tribute to a more pretentious river, into which it empties its water just below the town.

The town proper is located between a bend in the stream's course and the confluence a mile and a half away —and its 900 houses, in long lines, occupy either bank. The hills rising from 300 feet to 500 feet, are also dotted with houses. Free from anything like studied artificiality, they present a most refreshing front of green foliage, the deep color of the pine contrasting beautifully with the paler hues of the beech. There are the ancient houses, the village churches, the smoke curling lazily skyward, seeking an avenue for escape.

During mediaeval turbulence, they say, this was the scene of many an unrecorded Thermopylae, though now the very strategic points of the place confirm the impression of absolute and unruffled peace.

Carlsbad is in many respects a model town; the burghers are civil, and the Government paternal and painstaking. Its ambition necessarily is confined, for, locked in the arms of the mountains, it can never expand.

Like many of the genus, it has, we may say, but one street, and that on the left bank of the river—the Alte Wiese by name. It is shaded by chestnut and acacia trees, under whose branches tables and chairs are ranged, and in the attractive stores on either side there is offered for sale carved wood, ivory and glass specialties.

Besides this, the 10,000 inhabitants' sole business consists in providing for the wants of 30,000 annual visitors; and when the season, which is from May to October, has gone by, like the fabled ant, they live the winter through in well-provided-for ease. Prior to the fourteenth century there was no village here, for it was then, we are told, Emperor Charles IV. discovered the spring while hunting.

The value of the thermal waters was at once recognized, and to-day they are the chief source of revenue of this municipality.

Every person who remains more than eight days must pay a direct tax for the freedom of the springs and the support of the music. This is levied according to the persons' occupation in life, which also determines his rank! Simple Americans are always classed with aristocrats when there is any money to be paid. But by this tax you become, for all agreeable purposes, a citizen of the place. The circumjacent country, more like a private demesne, so carefully is it kept, and the rejuvenating springs are all yours for the time, and the atmosphere filled with melody.

The visitors are of all races and classes, and come impelled by a variety of motives.

But as by far the greater portion seek health, "The most aristocratic watering-place in Europe" as applied to Carlsbad by Baedecker, is surely a misnomer, for what is more leveling than infirmity? And what strange admissions must be forced from royal personages who come hither to mend their shattered constitutions!

When you arrive you secure accommodations—rooms or hotel—but for the most part eat at restaurants and spend your time out of doors. You consult a doctor, and he

directs you to a particular spring; prescribes the number of glasses you are to take and the dietetic regimen you are to observe.

There was a time when unfortunate patients were or-ordered to take as many as forty glasses a day; but they did not last long.

Now, from two to eight glasses suffice, and these before breakfast, at an interval of half an hour, gently exercising in the meanwhile. The theory is that the minerals in solution are absorbed into the blood, besides acting in a mechanical way, and thus cure, it is claimed, a long list of diseases, particularly those rising from excesses in eating and drinking. The principal constituents of the water are, in decreasing order: Sulphate of soda, carbonate of soda, chloride of sodium, carbonate of lime, sulphate of potash; and that they have cured and do cure many patients, there is no doubt; that in numerous cases they fail, and fail so completely that they lean to the side of reactive injury, is equally indubitable.

But there seems to be an element outside of the water, and the methodically frugal living which is requisite to recovery, and that is faith—faith in the beneficient efficacy of Carlsbad.

It is reasonable that due allowance must be made for the condition of the mind, as an abiding confidence in a cure is its most healing agent.

From 6 to 8 in the morning the skeptical and sanguine alike drink from the stirred Bethseda. The principal springs—the Sprudle and the Muhlbraun—are covered by grand colonnades of great length where the people promenade to the inspiriting music of two bands of 30 pieces

each. One colonnade is of iron and glass, the other of marble and granite, severe and elegant in style.

The Sprudle is a geyser, and the most remarkable of the seventeen springs. It has a temperature of 166° F. (the others ranging downwards to 85° F.) and rises in a volume of a foot and a half in diameter, fitfully though constantly, to a height of three feet. All the springs are supposed to come from a common reservoir beneath the town, and only vary according to the distances they traverse before issuing from the earth.

The Sprudle ceased to flow for three days at the time of the earthquake at Lisbon, thus showing how far off its connections may be. Beneath these colonnades the day opens very agreeably and curiously. Any other place but Carlsbad the idea of thousands of people attending promenade concerts at 6 a. m. would appear ridiculous; but here it is the vogue, and ladies and gentlemen, with drinking mugs suspended to shoulder-straps, and non-invalid loungers, attracted by the crowds and the music, keep without protest these unseasonable hours. And in the congregation of races you have a veritable microcosmos. In a wilderness you have a Capital; in a province a world. The corpulent Teuton, the gouty Briton, the lank American, the sprightly Gaul;

> The grave Turk,
> Turbaned, long-vested, and the cozening Jew
> In yellow hat and threadbare gaberdine,
> Hurrying along.

It is a striking spectacle, panoramic in effect, and it not unfrequently displays elements of comedy.

After 8 o'clock A. M. the echo of the music dies away and the throng disperses. This is really the only time when all come together, for a moment, for there is not here, as at most German watering-places, a curgarten as a common rendezvous. There are, however, many attractions, so the people, in a short time, are widely separated. And that is why Carlsbad is not reducible to a single picture; it is nowhere; it is everywhere.

After the last glass of water is taken, about an hour must intervene before the first meal. Every person goes to a bakery, purchases bread and then hies to a favorite resort to sip his favorite tea or coffee. The morning is spent in various ways—each to his taste.

The principal meal is eaten at 1 P. M., after which concerts at distant cafes invite you to walk thither, or, in the summer theatres, Tyrolese singers or visiting musicians may counter-attract. In these public places there are great files of newspapers—in some as many as 150—though not 10 per cent are in English. From 7 to 10 in the evening comic opera in the Stadt Theater may be enjoyed; and then, good night. This is the day's work.

And it is thus seen how peaceful and simple, and withal how full of pleasure, life at this renowned spa is. Not only the customs of the place but the surroundings have their influence.

The valetudinarian may put himself in this far byway where modest mountains rise as a barrier against the world. Just as in Alphonse Daudet's story, the little Dauphin, dying, would have the artillery rolled into the court and the King's guards ranged about him to arrest the appearance of death, so it may be that the invalid puts

himself behind these parapets of nature to ward off, in his fantasy, the invasion of disease. Whatever be the fond illusions a place so essentially romantic may inspire, it remains nevertheless an interesting reality,—a guard against infirmity.

Carlsbad is nothing more nor less than a practical expression of the golden mean. Its panacea is moderation. The first object is simply health, attained by well-ordered life, made pleasant by rational divertisements, far from the wicked world.

The ancients summed up the thing most to be desired in the phrase, *mens sana in corpore sano;* for, this possessed, every thing else followed. But unfortunately most people are unconscious of its possession until it is lost.

Why should not a state like California establish about some of its best springs such a community, taxing the beneficiaries for music and service? In a land where Hygeia has scattered her favors, she should not be without a worthy shrine, and taxation is sacrificial, and gold propitiates goddesses.

ARTICLE XX

The Battlefields and Southern Germany

He certainly would be lacking in reverence for the heroic dead who would leave Central Europe without visiting the battlefields, the scene of the greatest conflict in the history of the world, and the first in which American troops participated on a grand scale.

There is but one comment among the military chieftains, in reviewing the history of the War, concerning the American troops—that their dash and courage stood singularly conspicuous among the brave men of every other land. So reckless was their eagerness to engage the foe, that a French officer said, "Should I have thrown my troops into action, under such circumstances, I would have been court-martialed for sacrificing them." And yet it was this very quality of the Americans, acting for the most part on individual initiative and involving considerable loss of life, that brought the war to an end, and, probably, in the long run, saved a much greater tragedy.

The French drove back the enemy when he was within a stone's throw of Paris, at Compiegne, to the north, and the Americans hurled back the German cohorts on the

east front, when they were dropping shells mysteriously, at long range, in the very streets of the terrified Capital. As Cardinal Mercier said, grateful for the *coup de grace* which our men gave the Germans, "America has saved the world!" Proud, indeed, then, is an American who treads this sacred ground!

We went by motor from Paris to Rheims, and there spent the night. It is an utterly ruined city, resembling San Francisco after the unrestrained conflagration of three days' duration—walls grimly standing and debris everywhere cluttering the streets. Peacefully the rivers Marne and Aisne coursed through the fields, glittering in the sunlight, when once they were red and murky with the mingled blood of American and Ally. Temporary bridges enable us to cross and pass over the country, now finely cultivated. Mother Earth is again giving nourishment to her children. We passed by cemeteries with a forest of white crosses. These are Americans. The German cross, designating the graves, is painted black, and the Italian is white, but elaborate with ornamental devices.

Under the little crosses where they rise
  The Soldier rests. Now round him undismayed
The cannon thunders and at night he lies
  At peace beneath the Eternal fusilade.

That other generations might possess—
  From shame and menace free in years to come—
A richer heritage of happiness,
  He marched to that heroic martyrdom.
Esteeming less the forfeit that he paid
  Than undishonored that his flag might float
Over the lovers of liberty, he made
  His breast the bulwark and his blood the moat.

—Alan Seeger.

By a half-moon, we gazed upon the Cathedral at Rheims; the graceful ruin, through which the light shone in vacant windows, once containing colored panes of rarest art, as the Rose Window, over the altar. "The smiling angel," which decorated the front of the cathedral, has lost his head. But a French peasant, in a little curiosity store hard by, perpetuates the smile by giving entertainment to the traveler, emphasizing, even in this environment, the humors of the War. He has a trained dog, on whose nose he places a cracker, and then he repeats, in succession, "America," "England," "Belgium," "Italy," and the dog remains attentive, but impassive. But, as soon as he mentions "Bosch," the cracker is tossed into the dog's mouth and savagely devoured.

In crossing the terrain surrounding Fort Pompelle, fresh with the green grass which covers the scars of conflict, we found here and there a weapon or an overturned tank, and, in the center of the fields great monuments of barbed wire, raked up and put out of the plow's way. The grave of little Quentin Roosevelt is a pathetic sight, honorable to a glorious name.

But "look on that picture and then on this." In the depths of the Argonne Forest we lunched, and later visited the dug-out of the former Crown Prince of Germany, so situated and arranged that nothing less than a convulsion of the earth, excited by supernatural forces, could disturb him. Into a hillside he had dug out a chamber ten by twenty feet, and then had excavated, cellar-like, a refuge from a cyclone! One side of this apartment was a kitchen, and the other a wine vault. Where the roof projected, it was covered by five thicknesses of sheet

iron, and the tall trees of the forest concealed it from the airman in his flight. History will probably record the fact that the Crown Prince, in command of his troops, could invariably be found at the front, if you could find him at all, so concelaed was his retreat!

Beyond was Douaumont, one of the great commanding fortifications. The center of conflict, Verdun, was not far away. Simple earth-works overlooked the surrounding country. Hard by was a structure which attracted our attention, and, on approaching it, we found the famous Trench of the Bayonets. The bayonets, sticking out of the ground, and still clenched in the hands of the brave French troops, who had just risen from a second line of defense, under orders to relieve their comrades, when furious shell fire fairly buried them alive. Over this sanctified ground, an American, by name Crane, from Buffalo, New York, has built a concrete enclosure, roofed and walled, but arched on the sides, in order to reveal the graves of the living. The wonder of it will live as long as memory endures. And Crane? He was killed in an aeroplane accident on his return to London—not unforgotten for his thoughtful philanthropy.

How few of the fallen brave are identified, or ever will be identified! A temporary ossuary, containing hundreds of coffins, has been erected, and there the unknown dead repose. An appeal has been made for the construction of a permanent memorial. Conspicuous in this behalf is Mlle. Yolande de Baye, Superintendante d'un Groupe d'Ambulance d'Armée, who, as a member of the executive committee, makes this appeal for American support:

"The battlefield of Verdun is certainly the greatest and most bloody on the whole European front. Millions of men struggled here in a gigantic duel; four hundred thousand French soldiers fell on a front of 12 miles, about three hundred thousand of whom, according to official records, will never be identified. Most of them still lie on the ground, or rather in the loose earth and have not yet been given a decent and final resting place.

In response to the wish of numerous families, especially of mothers and wives, who search through this chaos in vain for sacred remains, we want to erect in the middle of the immense field a strictly neutral ossuary, surrounded with four chapels reserved for the dead of different religions: Catholic, Protestant, Israelite and Musselman, the main shrine being the Catholic one. All around, a huge cemetery, already started, will contain the identified corpses.

Mlle. de Baye has had a remarkable career. She has been given the decoration of the Legion of Honor and many others, and has received no less than six citations for bravery. One reads: "Since the beginning of the War, she gave a most beautiful example of devotion to the wounded, and, in the most perilous positions on the battle-front, proved her remarkable valor. Gravely wounded on the head on August 18, 1917, she still continued to care for the wounded during a fierce bombardment by the enemy's artillery."

In this peaceful landscape it was impossible to fully comprehend the titanic struggle where the gallant sons of France, throwing their bodies into the breach, cried defiantly, "They shall not pass."

The recollection of that sacrifice, the tears of women, the terrible resentment of men, shall not pass in this genera-

tion, nor for many to come. The thought of the dead bodies of half a million patriots, the flower of France, the glory of their country, having been required to hold back the insulting invaders of home and fireside, even now inflames the imagination and stirs the sluggish blood of calculators and economists.

Temperament is as real a thing as armies and navies. It held the Germans back at Verdun and at the Marne. But it is quite comprehensible for the disinterested to see in the demands—probably the vain demands—of the French for relief and reparation, the heart impulse to avenge the dead and to tell them in the dim Valhalla that their countrymen were worthy of their sacrifice and that France profited by their valor.

France mobilized ninety per cent of her male population between the ages of 18 and 50.

She lost 1,400,000 men by death and 800,000 by mutilation and 3,000,000 wounded.

She expended $30,000,000,000 and was materially damaged by as much again. She cries out in agony to the world: Shall you leave us to the mercy of a foe we have beaten and entail on an exhausted people the necessity of fighting again a country which has not been touched by invasion and is even now, by industry and fecundity, capable of quick rehabilitation and reprisal.

Lloyd George is a typical diplomatist who dissects situations, and is governed only by expediency and his present national need. He cannot afford to be moved. He is stoically English. When John Ruskin rebuked in his time, this attitude of mind, there was more humanity put into diplomacy. He said of the Irish question—as it may

be repeated of the French—"The Irish are a witty and affectionate people and cannot be ruled by the witless and the heartless."

It was late in the afternoon, when we arrived at Verdun, and so interested were we in the story of the American participation, told by the proprietor of a Coffee House, how the Americans stood the fire and never ran away, that we departed without paying our bill. He intercepted us in our automobile at the door. We could not but reflect upon his probable disappointment in finding some Americans who were capable of running away, even from a friendly "mine host." After our explanation and apology, he doutbless again continued to tell his story without a qualification.

But at Saarsburg, in Germany, we received our severest rebuke. We had just crossed the line and drove up in grand state in our automobile before an Inn for lunch. There was some sort of a charity bazaar in progress, and, impressed by our importance, a young girl came from a group and timidly asked one of my party to buy a small souvenir. Having just crossed the border, we had no current funds, so he said in good German, "I have no money," and, scorning him, she retorted, reproachfully, which cut to the quick the impecunious but not unsympathetic world traveler, "You have nothing else!"

We had to pay forty-seven thousand marks, seven thousand of which was duty, and forty thousand as a deposit, in order to get our car into Germany. But, on our departure from Germany, the deposit money was promptly returned, without much trouble, upon the delivery of the receipt. Forty-seven thousand marks was then equivalent of only one hundred dollars.

We paid for our lunch at the Inn, which consisted of soup, two meats, vegetables, rice pudding and beer, served to five persons, a total of $1.47 American money!

We passed through a part of the much advertised Saar Valley and across the Moselle River, which was a scene of marvelous beauty, and arrived at Coblentz, where we were entertained by General Allen, in command of the American troops.

General Allen had sent home most of his troops, under orders from Washington. There remained with him only about one thousand men. He holds the Coblentz bridgehead facing the Rhine, while the English hold the bridgehead at Cologne and the French at Mayence.

Our friends, Major and Mrs. Corbin, brought us to a dinner party in their apartment, where we had the pleasure of meeting the British High Commissioner and Lady Kilmarak; the former American ambassador to Italy, Mr. Leichman, and his daughter, the Duchess of Croy.

The next day, General Allen had us to lunch in his residential headquarters, to meet Colonel Stone, head of the Interallied Rhineland High Commission, Counselor Davis, and Captain Sumner of his personal staff, and others.

It was at once made manifest to us that the life of the Americans was very pleasant, because, in the afternoon, we all repaired to a polo game between different teams of the official family in which the General's daughter, a superb horsewoman, participated, and the General himself, now sixty-three years of age, was foremost in the fighting. The Polo Grounds were located on a high plateau, commanding the Rhine, and the Club House was a model of comfort, and thronged with numerous guests.

Lower down, in the City proper, there was a very attractive club, and, under the trees, by colored fountains, I ordered a dinner for a company of nine friends, which consisted of many courses and was well served. The surprise came, however, when we were overcome by "the low cost of high living" in the presentation of a bill amounting to nine hundred marks, the equivalent of $1.80. The wine and tobacco, of course, were extra, but they were correspondingly inexpensive.

In the morning, we visited the heights of Ereinbreschtstein, a great German fortification, which, on representation from General Allen, the French have considerately spared. All other fortifications on the Rhine have been destroyed. This famous defense on the Rhineland, the General informed me, has now no military value. Not only have the French destroyed the forts, but also many secret passages under the river connecting the various defenses.

After celebrating July Fourth in this new American stronghold, we departed for Wiesbaden, in southern Germany. As we entered the city, in a furious thunder storm, a riotous demonstration, protesting against the assassination of Rathnau, German Foreign Minister, was taking place, in which two persons were killed. The storm and Heaven's artillery dispersed the crowd. Thank Heaven. The presence of Americans is serving a very useful purpose in this country in preventing friction between the French and the Germans, and, perhaps, holding back the impetuous Gauls from seizing German territory to guarantee the payment of the indemnity agreed to in the Treaty of Versailles, but lagging in liquidation, because there is apparently no one to enforce it.

They say the French have three million men in arms, and, under the limitations of the Treaty, Germany possesses only one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, and these grudgingly given for the purpose of maintaining internal order.

What impressed us in Germany was the perfect cultivation of the fields, and the apparent industry and thrift of the people, whose patience, however, is being sorely tried by unremunerative employment. The mark, which formerly was equivalent to about twenty-five cents, has depreciated to a fraction of a cent. We cashed our American dollars, receiving five hundred marks to the dollar, and, two weeks later, the mark had fallen off to two thousand marks in exchange, and still later to seven thousand.

The people, apparently, recalling the traditional value of the mark, cannot grasp the fact of its tremendous depreciation. The average man, ignorant of real conditions, still thinks in marks and has the lingering feeling that the mark will sooner or later return to approximately its original purchasing power. But the facts are being driven home to him every day that he cannot buy, from what he receives for his labor, sufficient for bodily sustenance, and when he has to pay, if a manufacturer, for raw material, drawn from the outside, he painfully realizes that he cannot make expenses. And so, receiving no reward—the only incentive to work—what is there to prevent the industrial system from collapse? The Government, now republican in form, and sympathetic with the needs of the people, says that it can do nothing, and declares that it will continue to print this practically worthless money as long as it has any value at all.

It is said that Americans have, for speculative purposes, bought a billion dollars worth of this paper print, which represents, I believe, a total loss. And the French say that the government is bent upon the depression of the currency, in order to show to the world that it is, apparently, unable to meet the French indemnity. Then the French rage in their regret that they had not pressed on to Berlin and collected their bill, just as the Germans, in 1871, collected the French indemnity within the gates of Paris. Delays are indeed dangerous; just as recovery is always slow.

I cannot see any outlet for a restored Germany until the people, tilling the fields, for the mere purpose of keeping alive and manufacturing what they can, will be able, ultimately, to accumulate a little surplus with which to barter and trade, and, by slow degrees, thus restore their economic health. They now have to import one-quarter of their bread stuffs. An international loan will be possible only when the equilibrium is restored.

Theoretically, the demand made by the French is just in principle, that Germany restore the damage that she has done, as the result of this unprovoked and unpardonable invasion of French soil. The Powers are all of this mind, but they are Powers only in name.

It is amusing to see the American tourists, like birds of prey, swarming the Fatherland to take advantage, in a good-natured way, however, of the depreciated values. They buy objects of all kinds, manufactured leather and cutlery, for instance, for insignificant sums. I, myself, paid four hundred marks for a pair of tortoiseshell spectacles, with lenses especially ground, from a prescription

given to me by the great German occulist in Wiesbaden, Dr. Paganstecher. This was equivalent to 80c American money. And, two weeks later, 20c! So much, apparently, did the optician regard four hundred marks, and, yet, so skeptical was he as to their true value, that he apologized in naming the price by using these words, "Four hundred marks seem a great deal, but I am not quite sure that I am getting adequate compensation for my work."

A capable saleswoman in a shop told me she received 500 marks a week, the equivalent of a single American dollar.

The theatres are open in Wiesbaden, the hotels crowded, the Curhaus gay with gambling crowds; and there is little in outward appearance to indicate the canker which is eating out the vitals of the people.

At Baden-Baden I found the customary crowds enjoying that delightful resort, and all down the valley of Heidelberg, unchanged to the eye, was the accustomed fascination of the landscape and the toilsome activities of the peasant.

It is said that the factories are running full, but the skeptic asks, "How much longer will they run?" The outside world is seeking trade with Germany, where prices are indeed very low; and prejudice will soon disappear, as in the case of Great Britain, which has already made commercial arrangements with the Berlin Government.

Diseases, due to starvation, are cutting deep, and actual want stalks in the shadows of the great buildings, which, in other days, represented the productive capacity and commercial greatness of Germany. If this season is tided over, I am convinced that Germany, on account of the

character and thrift of the people, will recover her past prestige. This is vitally important for the equilibrium of Europe, if not of the world.

Entering Switzerland at Basel, there was a sudden change; prices mounted, measured in American money. The Swiss franc was at par, twenty cents, while the French franc in France is selling for eight cents. The hotels asked extravagant rates and the shops maintained high prices. There were no complaints made by the busy throngs, and, as we drove from Lausanne around the beautiful Lake Leman to Evian-les-Bains, the people were celebrating their summer festivals.

Switzerland was not involved in the War, but remained neutral—an asylum for all—and, indeed, profited much by the sufferings of others.

Our tour ended at Aix-les-Bains, over the border, in Savoy, where the same care-free crowd, which were wont to assemble in the gay days of unruffled peace, were employed in the pursuit of pleasure and enjoying the luxury of ease. Baccarat in the municipal casino held merry carnival.

The War, to one who had visited these lands as I had, in 1913, terrible as it was, seems to have effected only a temporary interruption. The millions of dead are being fast replaced by a rising generation. And, as the young, hopeful and ambitious were the principal victims of the catastrophe, the loss in national vitality and prospects can only be measured and, indeed, cured, by time, and not by money. Decades will be required to pay the debt in manhood:

"Ah! Monarchs! Could you taste the mirth ye mar,

> Not in the toils of glory would ye fret,
> The hoarse, dull drum would sleep, and man be happy yet!

There are grave philosphers who are prone to preach the doctrine that strife is desirable, like the storms and tempests, to keep the atmosphere pure. They find some good in the convulsions of nature, and in the clash of arms, because, otherwise, there would be a congestion upon the earth, which would lead to slow annihilation. They whisper in words, which they would not publicly avow, that war, famine and pestilence are natural and necessary. May not the world perish in peace, should universal disarmament prevail and science save? Are not the sons of Adam, some more than others, born to strife? Would they not lose in manhood should they be condemned, as in the tropics, to unbroken luxury and ease,

> "Even as a flame unfed, which runs to waste, with its own flickering,
> Or a sword, laid by, which eats into itself and rusts ingloriously?"

Perhaps, in the heart of humanity, there is justification under providence, for everything that happens, the only concern of man is that it may not happen to him!

The strongest argument against immortality, is the tenacity with which men hold on to life. And, another inconsistency, the world, while perfecting its weapons of destruction, conserves life to the utmost, in its science, its law and religion. War is indeed the greatest affliction of mankind, and mankind has shown its incapacity for even self-preservation in no more convincing manner than by

its failure to devise some method to avert it. President Wilson pioneered one way, and, like other prophets, was for the time being, rejected:

"Nor did he wait till Freedom had become
The popular shibboleth of courtier's lips;
He smote for her when God Himself seemed dumb
And all His arching skies were in eclipse.
He was a-weary, but he fought his fight,
And stood for simple manhood; and was joyed
To see the august broadening of the light
And new earths heaving heavenward from the void."

One result of the war is the democratization of Europe, which should be, in theory, a cure for revolt. The people are given the fullest freedom for the expression of their needs governmentally. It must be their lack of cohesion, or their want of intelligence, which keeps them in a precarious condition. They have a republican form of government, to all intents and purposes, in Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia and Poland. Buffer States have been erected against the return of Imperialism. Italy has wandered, temporarily, from democratic ideals (in attempting the suppression of socialism, which, by the way, has failed in Russia) by the use of an irregular and unauthorized force, just as inherently dangerous to democracy as the coercion of arms. If the Fascisti movement is wholly outside the law, as it is, its leader must be regarded as the greatest enemy in Europe to the orderly processes of government. and he sets a flaming example of anarchy, which may spread.

I personally witnessed in the streets of Rome a band of Mussolini forces spring, as it were, out of the ground in

the dim light of a late afternoon, and beat to insensibility a guiltless cab driver, who, during a funeral procession that morning, was suspected of having joined the communists in a riotous demonstration against the Fascisti. The courts are supposed in Italy to guarantee freedom, but the poor cabby can hardly be said to have beeen tried by "a jury of his peers." Who would blame him for repudiating constitutional government, when it affords him so little protection—who is safe against arbitrary upstarts if Fascistism is not suppressed? But, as a matter of fact, it is enthroned!

But, on the whole, the new States coming into being are infinitely better than the old, and, doubtless, will find at the same time, under a common aegis, freedom and stability. What shall that common aegis be? A return to reason, and, as in civil government, a resort to tribunals.

Some modification of the League of Nations, or perhaps the organization of a United States of Europe could accomplish the desired end. History will be found, as indeed, contemporary history is, on the side of Woodrow Wilson's idea, which will, like a seed, live in the ground until favorable condidtions shall cause it to germinate and grow, perhaps, into the stature of a sheltering tree.

> "Fools make poems, like you and me,
> But only God can make a tree."

And it is a God's work to construct order out of chaos.

ARTICLE XIX

The Irish Free State

An old Irish woman is reported to have said: "Now that the British have gone, thank God we can fight in peace."

IN THE beginning of August, 1922, the Free State Government of Ireland was on trial. The British troops had been withdrawn, except for a few inactive companies, camped in Phoenix Park, Dublin. "The Irregulars"—so-called—that is, the out and out Republicans, holding out for republic, free of any British connection, were in the field. The Free State troops were then in possession of Dublin, upholding the treaty which had been entered into by Ireland and England. The election for members of the Dail Eireann, or Parliament, under the treaty, had gone in favor of the Free Staters, and Arthur Griffith was acting as President of this Dail and Michael Collins as President of the Provisional Government and General in command of the troops.

I decided to cross from England to Dublin to ascertain on the ground the real condition of affairs.

Leaving London in the early morning, we reached Holy-

head at 3:00 P. M., and at once departed by steamer, over the turbulent Irish Sea, for Kingston, arriving in Dublin, a few miles further by rail, at about 7:00 P. M. The boat was crowded. My first thought was concerning the persons on board, and who they might be. Young men and young women of the working or middle class predominated, and I learned most of them were visiting Dublin from Cork *via* Fishguard, in England, because the travel by railroads in Ireland was interrupted. It later developed that many were fighting men from the Southern city, who came pursuant to a plan, which was put in force, abortively, a week later, to cut off Dublin by the destruction of roads and bridges.

I, in common with my traveling companions, my nephew, Mr. Noël Sullivan and Mr. Charles W. Fay, felt a certain degree of apprehension, because we had been warned that there was a great deal of free fighting in Dublin, and that there were constant sniping operations, by which men, from the roofs of buildings, would pick off soldiers and other objectionable persons in the streets below.

Descending from the back of the jaunting car, and as we entered the Shelborne Hotel, we saw armed soldiers in the lobby, and on the platform above, apparently on guard against unexpected raids, because the best hotels had not been exempt from invasion.

But, by singular good fortune, I met an old friend in the lobby, Mr. P. A. O'Farrell, brother-in-law of Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, T. D., then the leading member of the Irish Cabinet, and, subsequently, successor to Michael Collins as head of the Irish State.

There was nothing unusual otherwise about the appear-

ance of the hotel, and, after dining, we decided to go to the Gaiety Theatre, where a light opera was being given, but we found the sign "Standing Room Only," and then continued our walk towards O'Connell Street, which had been the scene of the hardest fighting during the previous months of civil war, going back, indeed, to the first days of the revolutionary uprising in 1916. The streets were thronged with people, soldiers in uniform participating in the promanade, talking to young women and going in and out the movie shows or places of entertainment. There was no sound of gun fire, and, after viewing the desolate ruins of the classic post office building, through whose vacant windows the sky beyond was visible, and inspecting the wreck of the Gresham Hotel and other structures, pitted with bullets, we returned safely to our hotel.

Retiring after midnight, all hands were awakened by the din of explosions, and the rattle of musketry. That continued for hours. When someone tried the door of my room, I felt, for the first time, that the misgivings of my friends, who had warned against the trip, were probably justified. I carried a pistol around the world in my hand bag, and had to give it up once in Ceylon, and paid duty and a license tax on it in Calcutta, and I now turned to it for the first time, I thought, as a friend in need. I demanded to know who was attempting to enter my room, and got no reply, but heard the shuffling of feet and angry voices outside in the immediate neighborhood. There was no escape by the window, as it led nowhere, and, now fully awake, I barricaded my door and waited for the attack. A long time seemed to elapse, when I ventured, out of a compelling curiosity, to ascertain the cause of the dis-

turbance, and went out into the hall, where I found a sentry sleeping on his arms, and no one else in sight. Later, when my breakfast was served, the waiter informed me that he was charged with the duty of awakening a man at four in the morning to serve him with coffee preliminary to a trip into the country, and that he had been misdirected to the room by the sentry, to whom he noisily complained, thus causing the commotion. So far as I was concerned, the rumpus might have been made by murderous ruffians. I enjoyed all the sensations of a midnight raid. I felt like the excited Hibernian who penned an extraordinary epistle declaring the conditions so critical as he wrote, he held "a pistol in one hand and a sword in the other." Perhaps this may account for much of the sensational news that comes out of Ireland.

When Mr. O'Farrell called in the morning to ascertain how we had fared, he surprised me by a proposal to ride into the country, which everyone had said was unsafe. In fact there were several fatalities due to the firing we had heard in the city, and by an ambush over the Dublin line not far away. It was a beautiful Sunday morning, and I accepted for a later hour; in the meantime, walking to the most popular churches to see the character of the population and the fervency of their devotion, which, it was claimed, had greatly diminished. The influence of the priesthood, it was also stated, had failed utterly to check crime, which had been merged, by the revolution, into a pseudo-patriotism. I observed that the people did appear sullen, and only perfunctorily followed the offices of the mass.

A story is told of Father Flanagan, administrator of the

Pro-Cathedral, a fighting priest, who was summoned by the Republican troops who were in possession of a building which was being stormed. He asked if there was anybody in need of his ministrations, and was told, at the moment, there was not, but might be at any time. He sent the messenger away to inform his Commanding Officer that he would not go until there was actual need. The officer immediately reported to the priest, and, drawing a pistol and watch, gave him three minutes to make up his mind to go. Father Flanagan, indignant at the invasion of his priestly office, grappled with the officer, and literally kicked him out of his parochial residence. When in the course of a few days, he was called to headquarters to administer to a dying man, he was detained there as a prisoner for over a week, before they suffered him to leave. This is the same Father Flanagan who mounted the roof of the Pro-Cathedral, when the buildings about were ablaze, and saved it from destruction by the use of a small fire apparatus. Archbishop Byrne of Dublin, with whom I had a special audience, a man of much poise and unquestioned patriotism, discussed the events of the hour hopefully but regretfully. Either grief or resentment takes hold of such men in contemplation of Irish crime, according to their temperamental tendencies.

The clergy clearly are divided on the great political issue, but the Bishops are of one mind, deprecating what they consider the disastrous attitude of the Extremists. Doubtless, all would be willing to concede the principle of the Irish demand for an independent republic, but they believe that it cannot be attained by resisting the peaceful establishment of the Free State, which, when once estab-

lished, may easily lead to the complete elimination of England; but that, think they, is only possible by the act of a united people, who first had restored order, and demonstrated their ability to govern themselves.

Be it remembered, that the fear of the so-called Republicans is that, under a Free State, as provided for by treaty, the King would be in a position to interfere by the exercise of his veto, and would be represented by a resident official, a governor-general. The treaty provided this, and it was made an indispensable condition before De Valera had appointed the Plenipotentiaries to London for its negotiation. But it was at the same time agreed that the Irish State could be modeled on the plan of the Canadian government. The Canadian government was and is a dominion but has its own Parliament and responsible ministers. It has a nominal Governor-General, but the King has never interfered, and could only interfere, under such a system, according to precedent, when petitioned by the ministers. So, in practice, there was no apparent danger of this reserved power being abused, and, at any rate, the Irish always had,—and they have frequently exercised it—the right first of protest and, then, of revolution.

Under the treaty, the Irish were to have their Parliament, a responsible government, control of their finances—the raising of revenue and its expenditure—and the establishment of their own educational system. For the common defense, England would have the privilege of using four ports for her fleet, when needed—not unlike our arrangement with Cuba—"Cuba Libra." There would be subsequently an adjustment of past indebtedness, but, as in the case of Canada and Australia, no contribution was re-

quired for the Imperial Exchequer. It was so full a severence of British relations, that Protestant Ulster angrily dissented, and declared it would never give up its political connection with England. Ulster regarded the treaty as a complete surrender by England, and would have nothing to do with it. So it would have become one of the first and immediate aims of the Free State government to win over Ulster, and realize the conception of a united Ireland. That could be done only after Ireland, outside of Ulster, had demonstrated the broad character of its government, its religious toleration and its singleness of purpose; its ability to preserve order, and its wisdom in the administration of the law. What a field for Irish genius!

The father of the Sinn Feinn movement and a signatory to the treaty was Arthur Griffith, of whose loyalty to Ireland there was no reasonable doubt. Michael Collins who, for six years, had fought England in the field, was conceded by all to be a model of patriotic fervor and devotion—who never hesitated to risk his young life in the cause.

These men came back from London with the treaty, but the radical element, led by De Valera, who had appointed them as plenipotentiaries, and refused to go himself, stigmatized them as traitors because they had not wholly eliminated the English King, which he well knew, when he appointed them, would not even be discussed, and was so told by Premier Lloyd George.

De Valera had indicated in New York, before these events, that he was willing to make a reasonable compromise, but, under the influence of Erskine Childers, an alleged "Englishman," born, however, in Ireland, who has been described as "the brains of the revolutionary move-

ment," he became, on his return, irreconcilably radical. De Valera is a man of much sincerity, but also temperamentally fanatical. Impracticable, according to the world, he may be put in the same class as McSwiney, Mayor of Cork, victim of a hunger strike, and Padric Pearse, who gave up his life in the first revolution. Their writings declare their character exalted and of pure motives, and men like them, in every land, are necessary to give a revolutionary movement a standing. They compose a wedge which breaks down the morale of the enemy. They make their cause respectable by dying for it.

> "Freedom's battle, once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
> Tho' baffled oft, is ever won."

I was told that DeValera taught in schools and colleges as a professor, but failed when he took civil service examinations, which is one of the few fields open to the educated young men of Ireland. But, apparently, he was willing, at that time, distasteful as it might have been to him, to enter the civil service of England, just as Collins had, by successfully passing an examination, become a postal clerk.

In the revolution, De Valera was given a command and acquitted himself creditably. And then, which was his great opportunity, he was arrested, tried and sentenced to death. There were, I believe, thirteen so sentenced, and the executions had begun—two or three at a time, from day to day—the English evidently prolonging the operation in order to influence the minds of the people and compel submission. I remember how certain members of the United States Senate at that time were greatly incensed

at British brutality. Senator O'Gorman of New York visited President Wilson at midnight in the White House, and, representing that, the next day, two American citizens, entrapped in Ireland, were going to be executed, demanded that he protest—which the President did, and successfully—for the "two American citizens" were spared. These men were De Valera and Lynch.

In the debate following these events, I, personally, remember calling the attention of the Senate, in a speech on July 29, 1916, to the fact of Senator O'Groman's interview with the President, and I helped to wrest, from an unwilling Senate, the resolution, reported by Senator Pittman of Nevada, from the Committee on Foreign Relations (representing a minority view of that Committee), as follows, which was a compromise—

> "RESOLVED: That the Senate expresses the hope that the British Government may exercise clemency in the treatment of Irish political prisoners, and that the President be requested to transmit this resolution to that Government."

The President informed the British Government the same day, but was not so successful as in the case of De Valera. Roger Casement was executed—and largely because he had been an official in the British service and had been given rank.

So De Valera was spared to head another rebellion—this time mistakenly, I believe, against his own country, and, at both times, in the name of greater freedom for Ireland, by which, of course, he hopes to justify himself in history. He asks for everything and is disposed to accept nothing less than all. Whereas the more moderate statesmen ask

for everything and are willing to work progressively with what they can get, which, in this case, is a very large measure of what they ask, and far more politically than Parnell and the Irish Parliamentary party ever achieved in forty years of struggle. They, however, won land reform. It would be less pitiable if De Valera's insistence had not led to the destruction of so many valuable Irish lives, damaged the name of Ireland abroad, and forfeited its greatest asset—the public opinion of the world.

The firing I heard at night, and all through the night, was done by snipers. The buildings in certain districts of Dublin are practically on a sky-line level, and men can fire and get away. I was told by a resident of Marion Square that after nightfall his family could hear these men walking the roof of their own house, discharging weapons. Then, in the early hours in the morning, attacks were made upon such establishments as Guinesses, which employs thousands of men, who, at the hour, however, were not at work. It is a part of a scheme of terrorization, which does not seem to terrorize, because, while all the people whom I met, admitted the danger, they did not seem to be influenced by fear. I was warned to get out of range as soon as I saw a military lorry, which frequently dashed through the streets of Dublin, going from one exposed point to another, because they were always the target for snipers and bomb-throwers, and the firing of mines, which are laid in the streets and suburban roads.

Accepting Mr. O'Farrell's invitation, we went by motor into the country, and called at his wife's family homestead, over which presided the venerable Alderman Flanagan, whose son, Frank Flanagan—a gallant youth and a veteran

of the World War, was our constant companion while in Dublin.

From there we went many miles to the stud-farm of Captain Daly, whose horse, we were told, had won the principal race at the famous Leopardstown Track the day before, where races at this season are daily held. This was a great surprise, because the idea of horse racing going on coincidentally with the horrors of guerrilla warfare was apparently unique. But I recall that Carlisle in his History of the French Revolution, says that in Paris, at the same time, when right arms in one part of the city grew weary with cutting of human heads, in other parts of the metropolis right arms grew weary of "twiddledeing on melodious catgut."

Leaving the hospitable farm of Captain Daly, where, pursuant to genial Irish custom, we were regaled with "mountain dew," we drove, by appointment, to the beautiful residence of Sir Horace Plunkett—"Killeragh"—at Fox Rock, about six miles from Dublin. At his generous table, among others, was the distinguished "A. E." Russell, a literateur and artist. There were many samples of his brush on Sir Horace's walls, but, to listen to him talk, strongly poetical and mildly political, was a rare treat for the wayfarers seeking to find the best in Ireland.

"A. E." stated that he preferred writing, because it gave him a larger power of expression, but I found, on reading, that his poems were pictures, and his pictures were poems, and that his love of nature was a supreme passion. He thinks that man's great purpose in life is to study himself, and, by the process of elimination, get to the front the best that is in him.

Sir Horace Plunkett is, on the other hand, a practical man, cultured and philanthropic, living in the world of men and trying to accomplish some immediate good for the benefit of his fellows. He presided over the Irish Convention which failed to avert war but whose purpose was the highest. He is the proponent of the extensive and successful co-operation movement in Ireland, by which farmers have been brought together to market their produce. In public life he has labored for practical results and is no doctrinaire. He analyzed the situation by saying that the young men have no employment, and have been barred, by the succession of recent events, from emigration, and are drawn into the field, on one side, or, on the other, to wage war, because they have nothing else to do. Sir Horace says, "To find occupation for nine-tenths of the young men, who will be without military, constabulary, or other employment at the conclusion of the present disturbance, is the practical problem of Irish peace."

Referring to past events he said: "A historian may well conclude that the coalition government in England first acted on the Machiavellian principle that it is better to be feared than to be loved, and then discovered that they had succeeded in getting themselves both hated and despised."

As to the British attitude toward Ireland, in recent years—one of duplicity and betrayal—he almost apologizes, in effect, for the frame of mind in which we find the so-called Republicans. In his own words, "I merely wish to make it clear that there exists in the majority of the Irish people a sentiment towards Britain which makes it possible for the Republicans to act in opposition to the

political wishes of the very large majority of Irishmen who are for the treaty." He says, "There is absolutely only one way to Irish peace. That way, the direct opposite to the coalition government's way, is through the unity and not the partition of Ireland,"—which partition, he says, is dictated in the interests of one-fifth of the Irish people and cannot endure in its present form. He adds, "It is widely believed that this constitutional outrage (as it is considered in twenty-eight counties out of thirty-two counties of Ireland) was perpetrated in order to dilute the industrial vote in Ulster, and thus prevent Ulster from considering the propriety of joining the Free State." He refers to the failure of the British Government to enforce its own treaty in establishing boundaries between the two states. He calls it "the final blunder of British statesmanship." He is liberal minded and deeply concerned about the condition of his country and the destruction of its youth by incompetent governments and fanatical—that is, unbusinesslike—compatriots. Sir Horace is a rock of sense and will emerge from the confusion of the times as a wise and accepted counselor.

Introduced to James MacManus, Under Secretary for Ireland,—to which office he succeeded as a Civil Service eligible—humane, a Nationalist in sentiment,—he personally conducted us through the infamous Dublin Castle, which, during all the years of Irish subjection, was the citadel of English power. If anything were necessary to show the surrender of Britain and its evacuation of Ireland, it could be supplied by a visit to the castle, which is even now being emptied of all its records. The gates were wide open, and in the court I saw from windows great volumes being

thrown to be carted off as rubbish. On examination I found these books to be "The records of Irish Constabulary," at one time so powerful and so bitterly hated. They have gone out of business.

We entered the State Ball Room, which was the brilliant social rendezvous during the English ascendency, now dingy, containing a shabby throne, once occupied by the Lord Lieutenant, and on the walls were flags and the coats of arms of the Irish Lords.

We entered the office of the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary's room, and saw three exits and entrances by which informers might come and, unobserved, depart. Then we visited the lodge of the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary in Phoenix Park, now in the possession of the Irish people.

We did not let the day close without visiting the Glasnevin Cemetery to see the graves of O'Connell and Parnell. O'Connell is [illegible] much as a he[illegible] Stuart Parnell. [illegible] so there must be someone who has not forgotten.

Correction: Charles Stewart Parnell

The Parliamentary party which organized all Ireland in a phalanx and dictated the destinies of English cabinets, asked for so little that one's amazement grows that the Irish people are not satisfied to-day when they have been granted so much; that they have not got the wit to use it as a stepping stone to a fuller realization of their dreams. Is it possible that the Irish Republicans are all sentiment and no sense? The proverbial "Paddy" returned from the market, and explaining a sale of his pig, said, "I did not get what I expected, but, then, I did not expect that I

would." But he accepted the hard facts and went to work instead of forcibly resisting the law of supply and demand. There are two to a bargain, and in this case, one very powerful and the other very weak in material worth and warlike resources. Should not the Irish understand that it is not always possible to get what they expect, not that they expect that they would? This is admitted by the very letter of De Valera addressed to Lloyd George when he consented to the final conference.

I had a letter from Sir John and Lady Lavery to Arthur Griffith, the President of the Dail Eireann and to Hugh Kennedy, the legal advisor of the Cabinet, otherwise known as the Attorney General. It was my desire to meet the cabinet, Arthur Griffith and General Collins and other leaders before I departed for home, in the vague hope that some suggestion might be made, practical in form, to bring the contending factions together that they might shift the fight, if fight they must, in a rational and persuasive way, not one another, but for Irish unity under a liberal constitution. But events began to crowd very rapidly, and the atmosphere became so disturbed with criminations and recriminations that a condition of peace and progress toward a settlement seemed utterly impossible at that time.

Under bans of secrecy, I was told that, on a certain evening, I would meet Michael Collins, who would come to Dublin and go to his headquarters. About nine o'clock, at night, I and my friends went to the building known as the College or Museum of Agriculture and Science, where the official offices were located. Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, and Hugh Campbell met me and my friends, and presently

General Collins appeared. Collins entered in his military uniform, young (he is only thirty-two), with a smiling, cheerful face and deep-set blue eyes, and, so far as his outward appearance was concerned, seemed to be unaffected by the dangers through which he has passed; his gay, gallant demeanor and magnetic presence appealed to to us all.

During the war with England Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling had been put upon his head, and his hair-breadth escapes will some day compose a chapter in Irish romantic history. The enemy actually captured him at one time, and, comparing his photograph for identification, let him go, because his photographs do not picture the geniality of his smile nor the winsome expression of his eyes. They say w henhe laughed at the soldiers, for the purpose of obliterating the severity of the lines of his face, depicted dolefully in the photograph, they almost apologized for detaining him.

His life seemed to be a charmed one. At the door, his automobile was pointed out to us, in which he went hither and thither, and it was conspicuous by a canvas, instead of a leather cover, of a tan hue, and that led to the opinion that he seemed to take no precautions. His recklessness was the cause of constant worriment by his friends.

Seeing how amiable he was, I began the conversation by mildly protesting against the shooting of Harry Boland, which had occurred, I believe, the day before. I told him it was surprising that four soldiers in trying to effect the arrest of a man in his room at two in the morning (where he was surprised in bed) should be obliged to shoot; that they must be clumsy fellows. I said I had met Boland in

America, where he was generally liked, and where, as secretary of De Valera, and as representative of Ireland after the departure of De Valera, he was frequently in Washington; and I made the point regretfully that an affair of this kind would serve to alienate American sentiment from the Free State cause.

I was at this time shocked by the callous disregard of human life. An otherwise benevolent clergyman, to whom I imparted the first news of Boland's death, said, without the least surprise or emotion, "It served him right: 'Those who take the sword shall perish by it.' "

But Collins said that, personally, he only knew the circumstances from the official report. Boland was his close friend, and he deplored his fate. He was shot resisting arrest and trying to escape. He himself, he said, had contended with him in many athletic events in friendly competition at Iris Feis; that he, doubtless, could not forego putting up a fight. They say he wrested a gun from one of the soldiers. His wounds, a few days later, proved fatal.

Then Collins spoke of the pain he experienced in having to fight his friends; that it had been for him a glorious war against England, the give and the take of it, in defense of his country, and that civil war had no attraction for him. He said, "In taking the Four Courts—headquarters of the Radicals—using as much moderation as possible, we took 160 prisoners. Two of them, officers of the Republican army, were friends of mine—Deasy and Lynch. They asked permission to go back to Cork, the place of our common residence, and rejoin their families, and I gave them permission, offhand, enjoining that they do not take up arms again." He said that the precious pair went back and

immediately became aggressive. I asked if he had exacted a military parole, and he again referred to his intimacy with these men, and said, "No," and added, "They were townsmen of mine. They have acted badly, but I do not desire to take any account of it." There was no bitterness—only sorrow and much magnanimity.

It occurred to me, after Collins' death, when he fell in the Cork District, ambushed by a force of Irregulars, that these very men had probably organized the assault. An act of that kind is sufficient to seal the hearts of men engaged in internecine warfare, and force them to believe that severity is a more humane practice than forgiveness; that in fighting there is no place for indulgence until the victory is won. When I heard of Collins' attitude toward his enemies, I felt that the amiability of his character was inconsistent with military success. He did not strike hard enough. The object of war is to put the enemy out of business, just as it is the business of peace to put the enemy in business—amnesty, reconciliation, productive employment—of which we find exemplification in the American Civil War, disgraced only by the execution of Mrs. Suratt.

In answer to questions, Collins said among other things, that the Irregulars were then concentrated at Cork, and indeed, as I recall it, he observed, with a laugh, not divining his impending fate—"Corkonians are good fighting men!"—he himself being from Cork. There were about two thousand of them, but he did not believe that they had popular support. Then he added, with a knowing smile, referring to his generous treatment of them, "The Generals in command are Lynch and Deasey, friends of mine—in fact, Deasey was my chum." I told him that I

believed the Irish Americans were with him because he represented a government self-determined by vote. He said that, in negotiating the Treaty of Peace, there was no duress, except that which naturally flowed from dealing with a superior force, but he was insensible to it, and that he believed that the people of Ireland, as well as the business and agricultural interests, as demonstrated by the election, were strongly in favor of a stable government and the establishment of peace.

He said that all had been for a Republic, but no one believed that England would have conceded it. They were bent upon demonstrating their capacity to govern themselves as preliminary to a larger grant. They would organize a government under the treaty and maintain it at all hazards.

I told him of President Wilson's acceptance of the Emmet statuette, which was presented to him in the White House, and how he said that he felt so strongly on the Irish question that he would not trust himself to make an impromptu speech—and his joke, when he said that he knew he had some Irish blood in his veins, because he "frequently enjoyed many moments of delightful irresponsibility."

I told him of my meeting with De Valera in Washington when he was seeking recognition of Congress, and the story of De Valera's attendance on the two great political conventions upon the basis of which, I declared, the policy of the Irish leader even then proved him to be impractical. At the Republican Convention he demanded, against the advice of representative Irish Americans, full recognition of Irish sovereignty by the Republican party's platform declaration. A resolution,

expressing sympathy with the Irish cause, would have passed, hands down. As a result, the Republican Convention adjourned without any expression on the Irish question at all. He repeated the same blunder in the Democratic Convention at San Francisco, when he demanded recognition of the Irish Republic in face of the fact that the Committee on Resolutions had reported a strong expression of sympathy with the Irish cause, and refused to go further. De Valera forced a minority report, saying the Convention would not dare to vote it down. His friends in the Convention advised that it would be voted down, and construed everywhere as a rebuff. It was voted down and the Committee report adopted. This is almost on a par with his conduct in Ireland, where he refuses to accept what he can get and has already, indeed, been accorded.

Collins was much interested in all these things, and impressed his visitors tremendously by his modesty, humanity and geniality. He would doubtless have been, if spared, a popular idol and leader. His eloquence was renowned and his speeches read tersely, logically and convincingly. But he keenly suffered, it could easily be seen, from his knowledge of the fact that a large section of his countrymen not only mistrusted his loyalty but openly assailed him. I think that very fact made him careless about life, and he recked little whether, in the course of events, he should fall. In fact, his friends told me that he was satisfied that he would not long survive. It was only a short week or two after my interview that he was killed in action.

Before I left, I asked him what message I could bring

to America, and he cheerfully replied—"Give them my kindest regards, and tell them that some day I will visit them, but at the right time, to set before them the accomplishments of the Irish Government."

In the discussions, it was brought out by him and Griffith, whom I subsequently saw, and Cosgrave, that Ireland through her leaders, believed that possibly some day Canada and Australia would drift apart from the British Empire, and that, as Ireland was promised and accepted the status of Canada, she would probably be free to establish foreign relations with other countries and exercise all the rights of unqualified sovereignty, but that her commercial interests bound her to England, her principal market, so there need not be any friction; but it is one thing to voluntarily make a connection, and another thing to have it forced upon you. In that day Ulster would certainly be reunited with Ireland, because, as it is, she has to contribute to the Imperial Government as though she were a part of England, which will become increasingly burdensome.

De Valera came in for criticism on account of his recent declaration that he would not accept majority civilian rule; that the army under him was the true expression of Irish sentiment, and, were it not, he said, for Washington's army in the field, the Congress of the United States would have given up the Revolutionary War, and what saved the United States, was the compulsion of the Army acting upon Congress.

This sounds little like democracy, and savors more of military despotism. It has been said of another—closely related—"He hated tyranny, because he could not be the tyrant."

As an historical fact, George Washington sedulously cultivated Congress, acknowledging it as the source of power, and, by his unremitting efforts, prevented his ragged troops from mutinying against that body, which had not voted their pay. Until now, however, he has never been accused, even by vile suspicion, of usurpation; and, when victory crowned his labors, he, to the surprise, it is true, of Europe—accustomed as it was to false leaders blasting popular hope—surrendered his commission to Congress. If De Valera likens himself to Washington, he should try to be more like him, and work with, not against, the elected Congress of his unhappy country.

As an example of Michael Collins' style and direct speech, a story which he told is repeated in his little volume of addresses made during the campaign for the Dail. When the Plenipotentiaries in London were about to sign the treaty, he received a telegram dated San Francisco from a valiant "Soldier," with an explosive mouth, not unknown in Ireland for his mischievous meddling. This is the way Collins put it: "I am not going to hide anything for the sake of American popularity. I received a telegram from San Francisco asking me to stand fast, and they would send me one million dollars a month! My reply was, 'Send us half a million, and send us one thousand men fully equipped.' " That was a good punch! Ireland wanted men who knew how to die, and Collins intimated, very delightfully, that San Francisco's long-distance-wire-patriots would be unable either to raise a monthly million, or, with all their braggadocio, a thousand men.

He follows that up: "I received another cablegram from a branch of the American Association for the Recognition

of the Irish Republic, and they said, 'Don't weaken—stand by De Valera!' My reply is, let that branch come over and stand by us both."

For six years he fought the brutal "Black and Tans" and needed men, and was not a little impatient about the Home Guard, willing to sacrifice, like John Phoenix, their wives' relatives, and their surplus cash available for substitutes.

Listen to this retort by which Collins put his adversary at a disadvantage: "Mr. De Valera, in Limerick last Sunday," he said, "compared Ireland to a party that had set out to cross a desert, and they had come to a green spot, and there were some who came along to tell them to lie down and stay there, and be satisfied and not go on. Yes, we had come by means of the Treaty to a green oasis," said Collins, "the last in the long weary desert over which the Irish nation has been traveling. Oases are the resting-places of the desert, and, unless the traveler finds them and refreshes himself, he never reaches his destination. Ireland has been brought to the last one, beyond which there is but a little and an easy stretch to go. The nation has earned the right to rest for a little while we renew our strength, and restore somewhat our earlier vigor."

In my hotel I met many Republicans who seemed, however, to possess little confidence in their cause. They were standing for principle and were entitled to respect and consideration, but, as a matter of practical policy, a means to an end—they must have understood that the Free Staters were on the right road to achievement. Art O'Brien, chief propagandist of the Republicans and Maude Gonne McBride told me that a rapprochement between the fac-

tions would be difficult. It would require great delicacy of approach and who would open negotiations? I found little encouragement and then sought the heads of the provisional government.

Arthur Griffith was a nervous wreck when, at the instance of his physician, Dr. Gogarty, he granted me an interview in St. Vincent's Hospital. No one had seen him since his confinement. He was obsessed with the idea that, in the cruel Vendetta—disgraceful and abhorrent to him—he was the next in turn to be sacrificed. He, the originator of the Sinn Fein movement, whose intellectual prowess was the pride of his countrymen, there miserably dying in an hospital, his flickering life—until recently so strong, so buoyant—guarded by a few faithful soldiers! The day of my interview, the guard had been doubled, because Harry Boland's body lay on the floor below, exposed to numbers of sympathizers, who called to pay their respects.

As the doctor ascended, I, affected by atmospheric conditions, said to him to be good enough to inform the bristling soldiers, alert against attack or treachery, that I was a friend; so I passed the sentry at the doomed man's door. Entering, I will never forget his pale face and large eyes, astonished and affrighted, almost unearthly. He motioned me to sit down, and we quietly discussed the sad story of disaffection and disunity. When I urged that certainly America, which had always followed the fortunes of Ireland—even though it be at a distance—could bring about peace, he said, "No—it is too late. It is impossible. Every door has been closed to conciliation, and it must be fought out to the end." It was painful for him to speak. The world was slipping from under his feet; he seemed embittered by

the ingratitude of his countrymen, after a life of service, and realized that his race was run. Within a few days he died of apoplexy, and so passed a great organizer and capable statesman.

Before these sad events, I met, in the midst of tragic happenings, the leading minds of Ireland around the "festive board"—where men best learn to know one another and exercise an opportunity for unrestrained speech.

The Cabinet graciously entertained me at luncheon at the Shelborne. To bring "the government" into one room, when there were so many who would like to violently effect a change of administration, was indeed, heroic. But I was told that such parties were rare, and the risk had not occurred to them, so accustomed are they at all times to danger.

Among the participants were: Messrs. W. T. Cosgrave, Hugh Kennedy, Ernest Blythe, Desmond Fitzgerald, Michael Hayes, Seamus Welch—all holding portfolios—and Sir Gavan Duffy, who had just resigned his post, and Sir Thomas Esmonde, an old friend; P. A. O'Farrell and Frank C. Flanagan, besides my own party. Nothing could have been more complimentary nor hospitable.

Another interesting occasion was when a large party of representative Irishmen, in response to my invitation, came to my hotel to dine, and informally discussed their country's affairs. At the table were: Sir Horace Plunkett, Dr. Douglas Hyde, Gaelic scholar; Professor Maginnis of the University of Dublin, Rev. Father Finley, S. J.; Fathers Flanagan and O'Reilly from the Pro-Cathedral, Mr. James McMahon, under secretary for Ireland; Dr. Gogarty, the leading physician of Dublin; Dr. Corbet, Mr.

P. A. O'Farrell, Mr. C. W. Fay, Noel Sullivan, who sang for us the songs of W. B. Yeats; and the distinguished George "A. E." Russell, who (among others, all eloquent) made a speech which charmed our ears—a prose-poem, breathing of hope, and comforting with consolation.

Each guest cheerfully and frankly responded to a call for speech, and the composite picture "bodied forth" a happy future for the distressful island, beloved by so many, now in the new dispensation, as ever, to be resplendent in garments of beauty, and "remade like a casket of gold." Yeats, like all Irish poets, apostrophises his country when he sings of the one he loves. How appropriately fell his words:

> "The wrong of unshapely things, is a wrong too great to be told,
> I hunger to build them anew, and sit on a green knoll apart
> With the earth and the sky and the water, remade, like a casket of gold,
> For my dream of your image that blossoms, a rose in the deeps of my heart."

The poets serve an essential purpose in the rehabilitation of Ireland. They create an ideal and fire the imagination of a passionate race, which would as soon fall fighting as attain their goal. They love the conflict. It gives them spiritual victory while it denies them prosperity.

If it is true that the "Irish are never at peace except when they are fighting," they must find repose in action: *Pax Invictis*. But will they ever desire or be able to transmute their fighting energy into constructive force, because, put

into other channels, it would move the world? It would perhaps be the achievment of "Perpetual Motion!"

In the poem, the inspired singer would "sit on a green knoll apart," to very properly enjoy his dream; but, as a matter of fact, the poets and dreamers have not sat apart, but have taken to the field—the field of war—and that has doubtless accounted for much of the confusion of counsel and delays of accomplishment.

In any readjustment, the several elements that make for a united and prosperous country must find their places—the poet, for instance, on the hill, the worker in the field of peace. That day has already dawned—but, alas, the Irish sunburst is red with blood.

ARTICLE XXII

Paris and London

He would indeed be foolhardy who would pause to discuss Paris and London—so much are they on the beaten track of travel—in any phase, except their post-war condition.

It is apparent that a generation has passed since 1913, when I saw these cities in the full bloom of their pride and glory. You miss familiar faces in shop and restaurant, and those who survive are prematurely old and broken. But the boulevards are thronged, and the cafes are patronized, just as much as ever before; and, for countries stricken by adversity, it is hard to imagine where the means for gratifying extravagance comes from. It cannot all be laid to the Americans, numerous enough. The French and Europeans, in this great throng, must be successful contractors and profiteers, who have made fortunes, creating a new "nouveau riche" out of the opportunities which war always gives. The gay world is still adorned with the jewels that are mined in the Rue de la Paix. No restaurant nor theatre has closed its doors. The Chateau Madrid and the Pre

Catalan are nightly the scenes of brilliant balls, and the race tracks draw their tens of thousands.

Where are the millions who perished in the War? Their places have been taken, if not filled. After a war, the youth of a country is always found in the ranks of death. So, France will doubtless suffer. The character of her new generation, which is but slowly coming on (because the birthrate of France has been a matter of serious concern to French statesmen), is on trial. France fears that Germany will first recuperate, on account of her greater fecundity, and that, unless she is now crippled, there will be another war within ten years. There is more gloom in Paris among the serious-minded, on account of what the future, they fear, may hold for their country, than for any present embarrassment.

The British, secure in their isolation, have no fear of of a foreign invasion, because sea-fighting is at an end, as the sea power of Germany has been destroyed, and the United States is not considered at all a likely aggressor. In this day of good will and, apparently, sincere desire on the part of England and, many in America, to come together—a union of English-speaking peoples—it would be infelicitous to venture an opinion which conveyed the idea of discord or disagreement. But few know how close America and Great Britain have been to war.

In Paris I met my friend, Colonel E. M. House, at a dinner-party, where several diplomatists were present, and, when grouped together after dinner, the ever-recurring discussion of the War, its causes, conduct and consequences, took place. There was nothing confidential about it. Colonel House, having held a position which made him

peculiarly qualified to speak, said that, at one time, it was much more likely that America would have been at war with England than with Germany; and had not Germany blundered so grievously, by the invasion of Belgium and by the prosecution of torpedo warfare, the destruction of American ships and American lives, the bad faith of her promises and the insulting character of her communications, she would have won a victory, because, not only would America not have gone to War on behalf of the Allies, but she would have waged war against England for the violation of international law and the invasion of her neutral commerce,—blockading, seizing and searching vessels, denying coaling facilities, diverting cargoes, blacklisting merchants and, in every possible way, calling down the wrath of the American people, never too friendly to English ambitions and aggressions. Conditions had become intolerable, when the inaptitude of German diplomacy and the ruthlessness of German warfare on the high seas, turned the scale of sentiment, and made it necessary for America to strike.

American merchants and manufacturers were greatly profiting by commerce with the neutral countries, which was their right. But England felt that these countries were supplying the enemy, and she though she would interrupt the traffic at the source. So, Colonel House's point was that it would have been incumbent upon America to defend her position, under international law, and to protect her commerce upon the sea, and that England, being in no humor to yield, would immediately have precipitated a conflict.

The dominant note in London, voiced by the press and

public men, is to make a friend of America. England is hopelessly burdened with taxes and debt, and much of her debt is due to America, so, the less discreetly diplomatic urge, as one of the reasons for a better understanding the ultimate avoidance of the obligations of payment. The reaction in America was so uncompromising, when this intimation was made, that no one in any position of responsibility seriously urged it; and, then, the "better understanding" was based upon "community of interests."

The combination of Germany, Russia and Turkey might easily crush France, Italy and England, in their depleted condition, had they no "big brother" to stand by their side. As between these rival combinations, it is safe to say that the sympathy of America would be with the latter.

But, the business sense of America, which seems, except in the excitement of war, to dominate sentiment, is now in the saddle. Expressions anti-American pass in London, and the unguarded remarks of such men as Kipling have done more harm than the Sulgrave Manor and the English Speaking Nations movement have done good. America does not like to think that George Washington was an Englishman. She does not like to see, under what is apparently an organized propaganda, the school-books of her children being mutilated to leave out the heroic exploits of the Revolutionary War, for, in every land, the inspiration of patriotism in the youth is found in the sacrifices of their ancestors. Deprive the American boy of his Revolutionary sires, taking away from him the background of history, and he has nothing on which to base his boastfulness of his country's glory.

The story of the war is truthfully depicted by an incident

which occurred in a Club in London, where English officers were entertaining Americans. The beer had become flat, and an American pushed it aside, and when asked why, casually observed, "It is stale." The other hotly retorted, "Yes, it got stale waiting for you to get into the War!" which met with the sally, "But, after all, the 'A. E. F.' (meaning American Expeditionary Force) rendered some timely service." "And what," said the discomfitted one, "does 'A. E. F.' stand for?" Whereupon the American dryly remarked, "A. E. F.—After the English Failed!" I told that story at an Englishman's table, provoked by some veiled slur upon America, but it gave me no pleasure, because it produced no mirth.

Piloted by my old friend, T. P. O'Connor, M. P., who had enlisted the services of Mr. Joseph Devlin, M. P., I had no trouble in getting a place in the Visitors' Gallery of the House of Commons. "Tay Pay," as he is familiarly called, is the "Father of the House," being the member longest in continuous service. I cannot but recall that when first I visited the House, many years ago, as a boy, to hear Gladstone speak, I presented myself at the door with a card from Mr. O'Connor, and was relegated to the end of a long line without any hope of resurrection. I walked forward to the guardian of the gallery stairs, and said "Is there no way to hear Mr. Gladstone?" He said, "No, go back and take your place in line!" Then I said, "But I have come a very long distance, and it is a great disappointment." He enquired, "Where did you come from?" and when I said "California," he, quickly as a flash with an unmistakable look in his eye, whispered, "That is the land of gold!"—Then down I went, and up I went!

In a land of so much formality, I was, on another occasion, surprised, in the year 1900 *en route* to the French Exposition, when, while still Mayor of San Francisco, I called on the Lord Mayor of London and found him in his shirt-sleeves! I thought really that his position consisted principally of a livery. I soon learned that he meant no discourtesy, and the next day enjoyed an excellent lunch with his petty court, lady and High Sheriff in the Mansion House. He was beautifully bedizened. But no Englishman will ever believe me, that I was received by the Lord Mayor of London in his shirt-sleeves.

After the session of the House, I was led into the lobby by Mr. Devlin, and, with Representative in Congress Mr. Bourke Cockran, of New York, presented to Lady Astor. We had observed that, in the House, she flitted from one side of the Chamber to the other, and engaged in conversation with the members and with the one other woman member, sitting for a labor constituency. She seemed to enjoy giving enjoyment. She evidently relieved the dull hours by her engaging manners, and was able to put through a resolution which she had upon the table. Lloyd George, who was at his best, parrying questions, and Winston Churchill and Austin Chamberlain, explained matters in response to the demands of members. Lloyd George, who never raised his voice, but spoke with much precision seemed to be master of himself, and moved from subject to subject with supreme confidence. He has the personality that "puts things over" and has taken on a certain degree of dignity and poise, of which nobody suspected him during the days when he was forging to the front.

During our conversation with the distinguished Lady—

American born, and who refuses to admit that she is expatriated—she turned to us, who were visitors, and asked whether we were in favor of the Soldiers' Bonus. It was at about this time that there was much scandal about the purchasing of honors. She said, "I am opposed to the bonus. It is a gift of money to a section of the people and it will corrupt the Nation." And she added, "Heaven knows, we are now corrupt enough!" I ventured to say, "We want to recompense our fighting men, because, Lady Astor, you must bear in mind that they saved England." That seemed to go over her head. "Furthermore," I said, "in England you can give your fighting men honors, we can only give them money." "With which," Mr. Devlin added, "they can purchase honors." This retort courteous did not at all affect the affability of Lady Astor. She smiled resignedly. She seems the embodiment of good nature and possesses a charm and piquancy which is almost girlish. She is greatly admired, and it can well be understood, and on her own merit, how she has won her way. Her ladyship was polite enough to invite me and my party to a reception which she was holding that night in her residence in St. James Place in honor of the Peace Delegates, headed by Lord Balfour, which we attended, and found her as gracious a hostess as she is an ingratiating politician.

There are many men and women connected with America by marriage who, either consciously or unconsciously, bring about a better international understanding, and soften the judgment of "kin beyond sea." For instance, Lady Maxwell, Lady Hesketh, Mrs. Brooke, wife of Colonel Reginald Brooke, are California-born of English lineage, and are as active in their several fields as Lady

Astor. Shane Leslie, scholar and literateur, as well as Sir John Lavery, eminent artist, whose wives are Americans, and Mrs. Dennis O'Sullivan, the writer, and widow of the distinguished singer, give intellectual hospitality to numerous visitors, and contribute to make London livable and likable. Social influence is very insinuating, and in stoutly maintaining any cause, one has to steel himself against it. Where one's interest is disengaged or slight, the social power scores, and scores easily, because the majority of people have no set convictions. I met at luncheon the Earl of Athol, the premier Earl of Scotland, Lord Chamberlain of England, who frankly admitted that he administered his high office in the hope of making friends for his country, a not unworthy ambition, and that is the general attitude of England today.

The better understanding between England and America is due, primarily, to the entrance of the United States into the War. In the last extremity of England, it pleased America to be able to render so important a service. It was akin to a family feud which kept the countries apart, and the family sentiment, which is always latent, stood England in good stead. Bickerings will, between people temperamentally different, constantly occur, as, when, after a successful operation the doctor's bill is disputed and the doctor dismissed with scant thanks. But the big thing has been done, and the next generation will look upon the association of England and America as having saved Civilization, represented by the great Allied and Associated Countries. France made the greatest sacrifice, but could not have stood up alone. Nor would Germany have assailed England or America, if she did not pretend

that she had a grievance against France. America and England will always appear, in the dim future, as the gallant knights who rescued the fair lady in distress, and the glamour of chivalry will obliterate every sordid consideration.

Then, America is inclined to forget and forgive, by reason of the great free dominions of England, her neighbors in the Western World, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Their influence has liberalized and softened public opinion. In granting to Ireland and Egypt of so large a measure of autonomy, and establishing representative institutions in India, England has gone far toward convincing America that she is changing her policy towards dependent States, and acknowledging the American principle of self-determination.

The bond of language, with the growth of literature, has become also a closer tie. Common tastes and pursuits make their contribution. The only separatist influence, which is a powerful one, is commercial rivalry. On account of her insular position, England, apparently, claims a superior right to the great water ways, because deprived of her ships, she is lost, much more so than if she had been deprived of her colonies.

Back of it all, as a great consolidating influence, is the meance of the "Yellow Peril," which affects Europe and the American continents alike. A common danger, with insistent demands for co-operation for defense, created according to Lord Northcliffe, an imperative situation in the Pacific. Men like Northcliffe and James Bryce, author of the American Commonwealth, which he understood so well, were not regarded as "little Englanders" but as statesmen of vision, big enough to ignore prejudice, and

capable of establishing good neighborhood throughout the English-speaking world. John Bright's vision was not as broad as the conception of the League of Nations, and did not contemplate the abolition of war, but, as a stepping-stone to higher things, he proposed a vast confederation embracing English-speaking peoples. In a great speech he once said:

> "I have a far other and far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and, from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main—and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith."

These exalted thoughts, like flowers gathered in many gardens, require only, for their preservation, the string that ties them together. They then compose a wreath which may be reverently and confidently laid upon the altar of international peace.

France and Italy, co-partners with America in the World's War, would, naturally, be drawn into a compact between free and enlightened States, whose moral influence would radiate, like a beacon, for the guidance of other lands.

It may take centuries, but a fuller vision of a United World, whose main purpose would be to abolish war and establish tribunals for the settlement of disputes, seems nearer attainment, when the centrifugal forces are arrested by a just understanding. If the War has led the nations nearer to a realization of this end, it will be a consummation and a compensation equal, perhaps, to the enormous sacrifice which it entailed.

L'Envoi

DEPARTING from "Ultima Thule"—no longer ultimate—after long days of travel, the welcoming ocean seemed for a moment to obliterate the recollection of the world's woes. They had been, however, but thinly veiled with superficial diversions, and could not be forgotten. Looking back, one felt that he was leaving, in her distress, the Motherland of America, whose sons, less fortunate, had to remain at home to bear the burden.

Before us lay the land of promise and achievement—a microcosm of all others—the American continent.

Arriving at its greatest city, and visiting its National Capital, remote appeared the days spent abroad, and everyone, pursuing his own way, recked little of the ravages of distress and discontent in other lands—the progeny of the war.

I saw the President in Washington, who was concerned principally about domestic problems, absorbing enough; and General Pershing, who began to doubt the wisdom of leaving our soldiers on the Rhine, lest a clash of arms might, at any moment, embarrass us. I advised, to "do so much for charity." The Germans, rendered defenceless by the Treaty, had asked that the troops remain.

The Senate in session talked through the summer afternoon, listless, without remorse for the tragedy of the Treaty, which had perished in its house. The richest nation in the world was satisfied. It had its glut of war, and the plethora, which had followed, had deadened its sensibilities. Had it not sacrificed its superiority, dismantled its navy, reduced its army and allied itself with its ancient foes, in a common agreement to wax fat in the drowsy atmosphere of peace!

I had sent a little object—or was it an object lesson—to President Harding from Ceylon, at Christmas time, when I had heard of the "Four Power Pact." It was a small group carved in ivory, and pictured four elephants, supporting a sphere, on which was the grinning image of the Fat God of Japan, called the God of Happiness. I had written him that I could account for the number of elephants, but could he explain the hilarity of the Oriental! He, himself, always cheerful and benignant, in the serenity of his isolation, replied that the Orientals had gone home evidently pleased, which he thought was a good thing.

Of course they went home, also suprised and gratified at the good nature of the drowsy giant. To parody the lines in "Measure for Measure," "It is a splendid thing to have a giant's strength," but it is perilous to use it like a pacifist. And so it had come to pass that the Delilah-like diplomatists had shorn the Samson of the West of his locks.

A few years ago, unprepared, the country awoke one morning to find itself helpless. Then the aroused nation put itself in training and vowed thereafter, in peace or war, to be prepared. Military training was in everyone's mouth. But since then, so complete has been the reaction, that the

nation devitalized itself instead, lest it might be tempted to fight. Thus it is now exposed to the wolves of war which stalk through the world.

The Treaty was left by America, and America was left to herself.

The result of the armistice was the continuation of the war.

The moral force of America was spent without having been employed.

When the nations collapse American commerce will dry up and the ships shall rot at their moorings.

The loss of a foreign market for surplus production will cause business disaster.

The day of reckoning will teach the interdependence of nations and nothing else shall.

Then, as in civil society, the need will force the remedy —Imperialism or Law. Law requires government by tribunals and the universal acquiescence of nations. This failing, a new "Roman Empire" shall dictate to a world of subject states, and another Cæsar shall rule with a rod of iron.

Can rival nations cooperate in great enterprises? Fortunately there is an example at home—so close that it has not been thoughtfully studied, where peaceful intercourse prevails and arbitrations have settled disputes.

Across the great Canadian dominion we sped, where no shot has startled the air of freedom, on a borderline of three thousand miles, for a hundred years. Nations can live in peace, side by side, but can it be only where the people are of common origin or are homogeneous?

We took again to the open sea at Seattle. Before us

stretched the coast of California—the State superlative—which fifty years after the founding of the Republic, sparsely populated and loosely held, was coveted by England, Russia and France. The army and navy took it for us as a spoil of war, which under the same shield shall be perpetuated in peace. It is the conviction of the traveler, as compared with other places, that California can be justly regarded as the treasure house and playground of the world. How truly the native poet, Clark Ashton Smith, expresses the pilgrim's thought:

"My beloved is a well of clear waters,
To which I have come at noontide
From the land of the abomination of desolation,
From the lion-dreaded waste
Where nothing dwelleth but the inconsolable crying of an evil wind,
Where no one passeth except the sun,
Who walked like a terrible God through the hell of brazen skies!

. . . . . .

Ah, suffer me to sleep
In the balsam-laden shadows of the palm and myrtle,
By the ever springing fountain."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Why Washington Feared Europe

HENRY CABOT LODGE, in his life of George Washington, Page 214, shows that Washington avoided entangling connections with Europe in 1795, which then threatened the existence of the United States, because the States were bankrupt and sparsely settled. Washington, Senator Lodge states, wanted time for his country to grow in strength and extent. "In twenty years," Washington said, "the United States would be strong enough to defy any power."

Here is a quotation from the biography:

> "In December, 1795, he wrote to Morris: 'It is well known that peace has been (to borrow a modern phrase) the order of the day with me since the disturbances in Europe first commenced. My policy has been, and will continue to be while I have the honor to remain in the administration, to maintain friendly terms with, but to be independent of, all the nations of the earth; to share in the broils of none; to fulfil our own engagements; to supply the wants and be carriers for them all; being thoroughly convinced that it is our policy and interest to do so. Nothing short of self-respect and that justice which is essential to a national character ought to involve us in war; for sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquillity twenty years longer, it may bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever; such in that time would be its population, wealth and resources.'
>
> "He wanted time, but he wanted space also for his country; and if we look for a moment at the results of his foreign policy we see clearly how he got both."

Not twenty, but one hundred and twenty years have elapsed since that time.

Daniel Webster's Views

DANIEL WEBSTER, United States Senator from Massachusetts, in 1824 moved in the United States Senate to acknowledge Grecian independence and spoke, in part, as follows:

I might well, Mr. Chairman, avoid the responsibility of this measure if it had, in my judgment, any tendency to change the policy of the country. With the general course of that policy I am quite satisfied. The Nation is prosperous, peaceful, and happy; and I should very reluctantly put its peace, prosperity, or happiness at risk. It appears to me, however, that this resolution is strictly conformable to our general policy, and not only consistent with our interests but even demanded by a large and liberal view of those interests. . . .

In the next place, I take it for granted that the policy of this country, springing from the nature of our Government and the spirit of all our institutions, is, so far as it respects the interesting questions which agitate the present age, on the side of liberal and enlightened sentiments. The age is extraordinary, the spirit that actuates it is peculiar and marked, and our own relation to the times we live in and to the questions which interest them is equally marked and peculiar. We are placed by our good fortune and the wisdom and valor of our ancestors in a condition in which we can act no obscure part. Be it for honor or be it for dishonor, whatever we do is sure to attract the observation of the world. As one of the free States among the nations, as a great and rapidly rising Republic, it would be impossible for us, if we were so disposed, to prevent our principles, our sentiments, and our example from producing some effect upon the opinions and hopes of society throughout the civilized world. It rests, probably, with ourselves to determine whether the influence of these shall be salutary or pernicious.

[Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States, 1824]

APPENDIX II

President Wilson's Fourteen Points

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenenat.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

APPENDIX III

Principle of Self-Determination

DURING a debate in the Senate of the United States, March 18, 1920, when considering the Treaty of Peace with Germany and the Covenant of the League of Nations, reservations were in order, and Senator Gerry of Rhode Island moved a reservation, which later was adopted by a vote of forty-five to thirty-eight, as follows:

> "In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations."

Senator Lodge had moved to strike out the words "the principle of self-determination," and the following colloquy ensued:

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, while I am in cordial sympathy with the reservation proposed by the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. GERRY), still I look with much misgivings upon the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. LODGE) to strike out the line which says that the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination.

There is no question but that nothing more reactionary could be proposed—and I was surprised that it should have come from the State of Massachusetts—than to strike out the declaration which seems to be the common law of the world to-day, the principle of self-determination. It is the very principle which gave us our national existence, and even Englishmen were the severest critics of those who stood in the way. Lord Chatham, you will recall, said if he were an American as he was an Englishman, so long as a British troop remained in this country never would he lay down his arms. The principle of self-determination has been ingrained in the Anglo-Saxon race, so called, and it is only a matter of time and method when it shall be given to Ireland; and here the Senate of the United States contemplates striking out from a reservation a matter of such common acceptance as the principle of self-determination.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. PHELAN. I yield.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Does the Senator think that the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination?

Mr. PHELAN. The policy of the United States recognizes that principle, I believe, in most of its public acts.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Will the Senator agree to that principle being recognized in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. PHELAN. The Senator agrees that the Hawaiian Islands by their own self-determination joined the United States. I do not see why the question should be raised, as there is no question of that kind, that Hawaii wishes to withdraw from the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Might it not be raised in the future?

Mr. PHELAN. If the Senator will anticipate all questions and expect a categorical answer, he will keep me very busy; but the Hawaiian Islands are a Territory of the United States, which is to all intents and purposes the fullest expression under our law of self-determination. Hawaii has the protection of the United States by land and sea, and she has the right to pass domestic legislation. What more could she want?

Mr. WADSWORTH. She might want independence.

Mr. PHELAN. Well, if she asks for it, we will consider it.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have no further questions to ask.

Mr. PHELAN. And if we deny independence to the Hawaiian Islands when Hawaii makes application for it on just grounds—that our law is oppressive and inimical to her interests; that it is destructive of her native population and against the welfare and well-being of the people—I do not see how the United States could hesitate to cure the situation. She would give them such a measure of independence, perhaps, as the United States voluntarily gave Cuba, holding under the Platt amendment that in case there was disorder or civil war, or perhaps external aggression menacing our coasts, we would intervene, but that during those days of peace and quiet Hawaii would enjoy the same independence under such circumstances as Cuba now enjoys; and we do not begrudge Cuba that independence. She is as much a part of the United States as though she were a Territory of the United States for all legitimate and defensive purposes.

Mr. LODGE and Mr. WADSWORTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield: and if so, to whom?

Mr. PHELAN. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. Since the Senator has explained so luminously the doctrine of self-determination as applied to Hawaii, I wish he would explain to us on what doctrine of self-determination we fougth the South for four years?

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, the United States is one country, and the men of the South were as much a part of the American people as the men of the North. Unlike Ireland, they came into the Union of their own motion, and they claimed that under the Constitution as they interpreted it, they could go out of their own motion. That was disputed, so it became, not a revolution, but a rebellion, and it was one of those things that had to be settled by the arbitrament of the sword. It was the moral issue of slavery. There was no other tribunal to which appeal could be made; but I do not think there is any parallel between the principle of self-determination as

applied to a great section of the country as to the South or the East or the West, and as applied to countries that have a nationality and a history and traditions of their own, that are racially different, as in the case of Ireland and England. There can be no possible parallel. In America we are a homogeneous family, and if we have a family quarrel, that is our own affair. The Supreme Court has held this is "an indestructible Union of indestructible States."

Mr. LODGE and Mr. OWEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. PHELAN. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. I am very much obliged to the Senator for his explanation. It is quite perfect.

Mr. PHELAN. I am glad that the Senator accepts it.

Mr. LODGE. I see now that the South did not want to go; that it had no racial or traditional history; that it did not have within its borders the oldest colony; and that it had self-determination, though it cost us four years of savage war to prevent its having self-determination.

Mr. PHELAN. But the Senator does not pretend to say that there is any parallel between the relations between the North and the South and the relations between England and Ireland?

Mr. LODGE. It is not a question of parallel. Either the self-determination is always applicable, or it is only sometimes applicable, when we happen to feel like it.

Mr. PHELAN. I am referring now to the self-determination of nations. The United States self-determined, not by decree, but by the arbitrament of the sword in that instance. It is now recognized as the accepted verdict beyond recall.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. PHELAN. I do.

Mr. OWEN. I wish to suggest to the Senator from California that he has in support of his argument generally the very important fact that at the time of the Civil War the necessity of the States of the Union being cohered together in the Union was a vital question, affecting the protection of the whole of the American Continent; that if the States at that time had been divided, and the Union destroyed, they would have been open to the attack of the military dynasties of Europe, and therefore the intuition of the American people was against such a separation. That matter is no longer of force, because the nations of the world are now democratic; the nations of the world have recognized that government ought to be based upon the consent of the governed; so that the premises are changed, and the Senator from California may well take that into account.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I enjoy what the Senator has said, but he has encroached upon my time.

I merely desire to emphasize the fact that this Government has steadfastly maintained from its very inception the principle of self-determination. It is, in fact, that very principle that gave it its birth; and if, even by implication, there is a repudiation here to-day of that principle, I think it is a matter of such a serious character that it should be understood.

The President went to Paris armed with an article to be inserted in the covenant of the league in which this principle was put in a most practical form. The words are as follows:

"The contracting powers unite in guaranteeing to each other political independence and territorial integrity, but it is understood between them that such territorial readjustment, if any, as may in the future become necessary by reason of changes in present racial conditions and aspirations or present social and political relationships, pursuant to the principle of self-determination, and also such territorial readjustments as may, in the judgment of three-fourths of the delegates, be demanded by the welfare and manifest interest of the peoples concerned, may be effected if agreeable to those peoples, and that territorial changes may in equity involve material compensation. The contracting powers accept without reservation the principle that the peace of the world is superior in importance to every question of political jurisdiction or boundary.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from New York?

Mr. PHELAN. I would rather save my time.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I just want to ask the Senator if that is still in the treaty?

Mr. PHELAN. Will the Senator allow me to conclude? Then I will answer.

The President brought that to Paris. It was an American doctrine, and it is unfortunate, in my judgment, that it is not embodied in the treaty and in the covenant of the league; but it will be proposed here before we get through with these reservations, and the Senate will have an opportunity of reasserting this American doctrine. I proposed here in November that the 14 points, embodying self-determination as their cardinal feature, should be inserted in the treaty as a means by which its provisions could be interpreted; and that, unfortunately, I must admit, was voted down. I see, therefore, in this body as at present organized, a reactionary trend, but it is not too late to set ourselves right in the light of history and in the political arena of the world, and retrogression now might be very serious to free nations that rely upon and look to us, at any rate, for our moral support.

There was put into the RECORD yesterday a letter from Mr. Hoover, which indicated that we might properly keep out of certain commissions that are organized in Europe to carry out the provisions of the treaty of peace. In California on October 2, 1919, he made a statement before the Stanford University. That was several months after he had delivered to the President in Paris the memorandum dated April, 1919. I quote him now as of October, 1919. He says, among other things:

"We have been the center and inspiration of democracy for a hundred years. We have given our sympathy and encouragement to every aspiration for self-government in all this time. We have, from our experience in its blessings, believed it made for peace and well-being. We enjoy from it the highest standard of living in the world. We went to Europe with our best blood and our treasure, and fought the attempt to impose autocracy on the world. We won. We imposed democracy all over Europe. We set up a score of new democracies, and there are in many of them peoples of our own blood, in the Baltic, Polish, and Slav races. Are we to refuse our counsels to those peoples now struggling to realize—

What? He says—

"Our own ideals."

Our greatest ideal is the ideal which we have always possessed, the right of self-government. It is the inspiration of our political life, and we have gone abroad, and according to the President and according to Mr. Hoover—a political leader of the first magnitude, I judge, from the way his words are received—and we have given it to Europe, and here in the Senate it is proposed to obliterate it from the record, to strike it out, which can not but put us in a position of saying that after a hundred and fifty years our ideal is of no value; that we have been simply indulging in a pretense and a deception when we invited the peoples of the world to adopt democracy, which is self-determination, and promised to give them our support.

. . . . . .

The Lodge amendment to strike out the words "the principle of self-determination" was defeated by a record vote of 42 to 37.

. . . . . .

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. The Senator seeks to insert in the reservation the words "as heretofore applied by the United States." That is, he wants to limit the reservation so that we do not declare for the principle of self-determination as it is to be but as it has been under the United States.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; and I think that is the best example of self-determination the world has ever seen.

Mr. REED. Does not the Senator know that that is an appeal to the past, applying the rule of the past, when we are now at the dawn of a new era?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I have heard that stated, Mr. President, but——

Mr. REED. Does not the Senator know that this League of Nations is the proclamation of the new era; and is he not willing to take the new era, with all its benefits, without going back to the dead past to find the rule by which we are to act during the sunshine of this new day?

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from New York a question?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes Mr. President. I was about to yield the floor, but I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. PHELAN. May I ask the Senator if he will accept an amendment reading "as heretofore understood and applied by the United States"?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, my recollection of our history is that, as we have understood it, we have applied it. Will not the word "applied" cover everything that the Senator needs? Why make it more difficult to understand by putting in other words?

Mr. PHELAN. I have a specific purpose; otherwise I would not have suggested it. Does the Senator see any objection to using the words "as understood and applied"?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Yes; I think it adds confusion.

Mr. PHELAN. The Senator refuses.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do.

Mr. LODGE. What authority is there to state how we have understood it? There is nothing except our actions that will show how we have understood it.

Mr. PHELAN. I will reveal now what I had in mind.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That will be very interesting.

Mr. PHELAN. I refer to the Declaration of Independence—"that all men are created equal" and "endowed with certain inalienable rights," and in order "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"; and, therefore, if we put in here the words "understood and applied," we will be reaffirming the Declaration of Independence. I think that should be acceptable to any American Senator.

The main resolution as above was adopted without amendment.

APPENDIX IV

Text of Wilson-Bryan Treaty

(All the treaties signed are identic mutatis mutandis, except for a few changes introduced into the treaties with the Netherlands and with Great Britain.)

TREATY TO FACILITATE THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES (BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE)

THE PRESIDENT of the United States of America and the President of the French Republic, desiring to strengthen the friendly relations which unite their two countries and to serve the cause of general peace, have decided to conclude a treaty for these purposes and have consequently appointed the plenipotentiaries designated hereinafter, to wit:

The President of the United States of America, the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State of the United States; and

The President of the French Republic, His Excellency J. J. Jusserand, ambassador of the French Republic to the United States;

Who, after exhibiting to each other their full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

Any disputes arising between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, of whatever nature they may be, shall, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the high contracting parties do not have recourse to arbitration, be submitted for investigation and report to a permanent international comission, constituted in the manner prescribed in the following article.

ARTICLE II.

The international commission shall be composed of five members, appointed as follows: Each Government shall designate two members,

only one of whom shall be of its own nationality; the fifth member shall be designated by common consent and shall not belong to any of the nationalities already represented on the commission; he shall perform the duties of president.

In case the two Governments shall be unable to agree on the choice of the fifth commissioner, the other four shall be called upon to designate him, and failing an understanding between them, the provisions of article 45 of The Hague convention of 1907 shall be applied.

The commission shall be organized within six months from the exchange of ratifications of the present convention.

The members shall be appointed for one year and their appointment may be renewed. They shall remain in office until superseded or reappointed, or until the work on which they are engaged at the time their office expires is completed.

Any vacancies which may arise—from death, resignation, or cases of physical or moral incapacity—shall be filled within the shortest possible period in the manner followed for the original appointment.

The high contracting parties shall, before designating the commissioners, reach an understanding in regard to their compensation. They shall bear by halves the expenses incident to the meeting of the commission.

ARTICLE III.

In case a dispute should arise between the high contracting parties which is not settled by the ordinary methods each party shall have a right to ask that the investigation thereof be intrusted to the international commission charged with making a report. Notice shall be given to the president of the international commission, who shall at once communicate with his colleagues.

In the same case the president may, after consulting his colleagues and upon receiving the consent of a majority of the members of the commission, offer the services of the latter to each of the contracting parties. Acceptance of that offer declared by one of the two Governments shall be sufficient to give jurisdiction of the case to the commission in accordance with the foregoing paragraph.

The place of meeting shall be determined by the commission itself.

ARTICLE IV.

The two high contracting parties shall have a right, each on its

own part, to state to the president of the commission what is the subject matter of the controversy. No difference in these statements, which shall be furnished by way of suggestion, shall arrest the action of the commission.

In case the cause of the dispute should consist of certain acts already committed or about to be committed, the commission shall as soon as possible indicate what measures to preserve the rights of each party ought in its opinion to be taken provisionally and pending the delivery of its report.

ARTICLE V.

As regards the procedure which it is to follow, the commission shall as far as possible be guided by the provisions contained in articles 9 to 36 of convention 1 of The Hague of 1907.

The high contracting parties agree to afford the commission all means and all necessary facilities for its investigation and report.

The work of the commission shall be completed within one year from the date on which it has taken jurisdiction of the case, unless the high contracting parties shall agree to set a different period.

The conclusion of the commission and the terms of its report shall be adopted by a majority. The report, signed only by the President, acting by virtue of his office, shall be transmitted by him to each of the contracting parties.

The high contracting parties reserve full liberty as to the action to be taken on the report of the commission.

ARTICLE VI.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the President of the French Republic, in accordance with the consitutional laws of France..

It shall go into force immediately after the exchange of ratifications and shall last five years.

Unless denounced six months at least before the expiration of the said period of five years, it shall remain in force until the expiration of a period of 12 months after either party shall have notified the other of its intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereunto their seals.

Done at Washington this 15th day of September, in the year 1914.

[SEAL.] WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

[SEAL.] JUSSERAND.

APPENDIX V

Text of Four-Power Treaty

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, the British Empire, France, and Japan,

With a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean,

(1) Have determined to conclude a treaty to this effect and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America,

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India,

And for the Dominion of Canada, ———,

For the Commonwealth of Australia, ———,

For the Dominion of New Zealand, ———,

For India, ———,

The President of the French Republic,

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean.

If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the high contracting parties to a joint conference, to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

ARTICLE II.

If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly and separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

ARTICLE III.

This agreement shall remain in force for 10 years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force, subject to the right of any of the high contracting parties to terminate it upon 12 months' notice.

ARTICLE IV.

This agreement shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties, and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Great Britain and Japan, which was concluded at London on July 13, 1911, shall terminate.

TEXT OF ANGLO-JAPANESE TREATY.

PREAMBLE.

The Government of Great Britain and the Government of Japan, having in view the important changes which have taken place in the situation since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese agreement of the 12th August, 1905, and believing that a revision of that agreement responding to such changes would contribute to general stability and repose, have agreed upon the following stipulations to replace the agreement above mentioned, such stipulations having the same object as the said agreement, namely:

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of eastern Asia and of India.

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and

the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of eastern Asia and of India, and the defense of their special interests in the said regions.

ARTICLE I.

It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

ARTICLE II.

If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any power or powers, either high contracting party should be involved in war in defense of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement, the other high contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III.

The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this agreement.

ARTICLE IV.

Should either high contracting party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such contracting party an obligation to go to war with the power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force.

ARTICLE V.

The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present

agreement and the means by which such assistance is to be made available will be arranged by the naval and military authorities of the high contracting parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VI.

The present agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for 10 years from that date.

In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified 12 months before the expiration of the said 10 years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war the alliance shall, ipso facto, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this agreement and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London the 13th day of July, 1911.

E. GREY,
His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

TAKAAKI KATO,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the Court of St. James.

TREATY BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAN.

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, being desirous to strengthen the bonds of amity that bind them together and also to advance the cause of general peace, have resolved to enter into a treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States, the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State of the United States; and

His Britannic Majesty, the Right Hon. Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, G. C. V. O., K. C. M. G., etc., his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Washington;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties agree that all disputes between them, of every nature whatsoever, other than disputes the settlement of which is provided for and in fact achieved under existing agreements between the high contracting parties, shall, when diplomatic methods of adjustment have failed, be referred for investigation and report to a permanent international commission, to be constituted in the manner prescribed in the next succeeding article; and they agree not to declare war or begin hostilities during such investigation and before the report is submitted.

ARTICLE II.

The international commission shall be composed of five members, to be appointed as follows: One member shall be chosen from each country, by the Government thereof; one member shall be chosen by each Government from some third country; the fifth member shall be chosen by common agreement between the two Governments, it being understood that he shall not be a citizen of either country. The expenses of the commission shall be paid by the two Governments in equal proportions.

The international commission shall be appointed within six months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty; and vacancies shall be filled according to the manner of the original appointment

ARTICLE III.

In case the high contracting parties shall have failed to adjust a dispute by diplomatic methods, they shall at once refer it to the international commission for investigation and report. The international commission may, however, spontaneously by unanimous agreement

offer its services to that effect, and in such case it shall notify both Governments and request their cooperation in the investigation.

In the event of its appearing to His Majesty's Government that the British interests affected by the dispute to be investigated are not mainly those of the United Kingdom, but are mainly those of some one or more of the self-governing dominions, namely, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland, His Majesty's Government shall be at liberty to substitute as the member chosen by them to serve on the International Commission for such investigation and report another person selected from a list of persons to be named one for each of the self-governing dominions, but only one shall act, namely, that one who represents the dominion immediately interested.

The high contracting parties agree to furnish the Permanent International Commission with all the means and facilities required for its investigation and report.

The report of the International Commission shall be completed within one year after the date on which it shall declare its investigation to have begun, unless the high contracting parties shall limit or extend the time by mutual agreement. The report shall be prepared in triplicate; one copy shall be presented to each Government, and the third retained by the commission for its files.

The high contracting parties reserve the right to act independently on the subject matter of the dispute after the report of the commission shall have been submitted.

ARTICLE IV.

This treaty shall not affect in any way the provisions of the treaty of the 11th January, 1909, relating to questions arising between the United States and Canada.

ARTICLE V.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by His Britannic Majesty; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible. It shall take effect immediately after the exchange of ratifications, and shall continue in

force for a period of five years; and it shall thereafter remain in force until 12 months after one of the high contracting parties have given notice to the other of an intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereunto their seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington on the 15th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1914.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN [SEAL.]

CECIL SPRING-RICE. [SEAL.]

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE.

The president of the United States of America and the President of the French Republic, desiring to strengthen the friendly relations which unite their two countries and to serve the cause of general peace, have decided to conclude a treaty for these purposes and have consequently appointed the plenipotentiaries designated hereinafter, to wit:

The President of the United States of America; the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State of the United States; and

The President of the French Republic; His Excellency J. J. Jusserand, ambassador of the French Republic to the United States;

Who, after exhibiting to each other their full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

Any disputes arising between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, of whatever nature they may be, shall, when ordinary diplomatic proceedings have failed and the high contracting parties do not have recourse to arbitration, be submitted for investigation and report to a permanent international commission constituted in the manner prescribed in the following article.

The high contracting parties agree not to resort, with respect to each other, to any act of force during the investigation to be made by the commission and before its report is handed in.

ARTICLE 2.

The international commission shall be composed of five members appointed as follows: Each Government shall designate two members, only one of whom shall be of its own nationality; the fifth member shall be designated by common consent and shall not belong to any of the nationalities already represented on the commission; he shall perform the duties of president.

In case the two Governments should be unable to agree on the choice of the fifth commissioner, the other four shall be called upon to designate him, and failing an understanding between them, the provisions of article 45 of The Hague convention of 1907 shall be applied.

The commission shall be organized within six months from the exchange of ratifications of the present convention.

The members shall be appointed for one year and their appointment may be renewed. They shall remain in office until superseded or reappointed, or until the work on which they are engaged at the time their office expires is completed.

Any vacancies which may arise (from death, resignation, or cases of physical or moral incapacity) shall be filled within the shortest possible period in the manner followed for the original appointment.

The high contracting parties shall, before designating the commissioners, reach an understanding in regard to their compensation. They shall bear by halves the expenses incident to the meeting of the commission.

ARTICLE 3.

In case a dispute should arise between the high contracting parties which is not settled by the ordinary methods, each party shall have a right to ask that the investigation thereof be intrusted to the international commission charged with making a report. Notice shall be given to the president of the international commission, who shall at once communicate with his colleagues.

In the same case the president may, after consulting his colleagues and upon receiving the consent of a majority of the members of the commission, offer the services of the latter to each of the contracting parties. Acceptance of that offer declared by one of the two Governments shall be sufficient to give jurisdiction of the case to the commission in accordance with the foregoing paragraph.

The place of meeting shall be determined by the commission itself.

ARTICLE 4.

The two high contracting parties shall have a right, each on its own part, to state to the president of the commission what is the subject matter of the controversy. No difference in these statements, which shall be furnished by way of suggestion, shall arrest the action of the commission.

In case the cause of the dispute should consist of certain acts already committed or about to be committed, the commission shall as soon as possible indicate what measures to preserve the rights of each party ought in its opinion to be taken provisionally and pending the delivery of its report.

ARTICLE 5.

As regards the procedure which it is to follow, the commission shall as far as possible be guided by the provisions contained in articles 9 to 36 of convention 1 of The Hague of 1907.

The high contracting parties agree to afford the commission all means and all necessary facilities for its investigation and report.

The work of the commission shall be completed within one year from the date on which it has taken jurisdiction of the case, unless the high contracting parties should agree to set a different period.

The conclusion of the commission and the terms of its report shall be adopted by a majority. The report, signed only by the President acting by virtue of his office, shall be transmitted by him to each of the contracting parties.

The high contracting parties reserve full liberty as to the action to be taken on the report of the commission.

ARTICLE 6.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the President of the French Republic, in accordance with the constitutional laws of France.

It shall go into force immediately after the exchange of ratifications, and shall last five years.

Unless denounced six months at least before the expiration of the said period of five years, it shall remain in force until the expiration of a period of 12 months after either party shall have notified the other of its intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereunto their seals.

Done at Washington this 15th day of September, in the year 1914.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. [SEAL.]

JUSSERAND. [SEAL.]

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN.

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, taking into consideration the fact that the high contracting parties to the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, concluded at The Hague on the 29th July, 1899, have reserved to themselves, by Article XIX of that convention the right of concluding agreements, with a view to referring to arbitration all questions which they shall consider possible to submit to such treatment, have resolved to conclude an arbitration convention between the two countries, and for the purpose have named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

The President of the United States of America, Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States of America; and

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Baron Kogoro Takahira, Shosammi, Grand Cordon of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun, his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States of America;

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

Difference which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be

referred to the permanent court of arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of the 29th July, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third parties.

ARTICLE II.

In each individual case the high contracting parties, before appealing to the permanent court of arbitration shall conclude a special agreement defining clearly the matter in dispute, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, and the period to be fixed for the formation of the arbitral tribunal and the several stages of the procedure. It is understood that such special agreements will be made on the part of the United States by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

Such agreements shall be binding only when confirmed by the two Governments by an exchange of notes.

ARTICLE III.

The present convention shall remain in force for the period of five years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications.

ARTICLE IV.

The present convention shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention and have thereunto affixed their seals.

Done at the city of Washington, in duplicate, this 5th day of May, 1908, corresponding to the 5th day of the fifth month of the forty-first year of Meiji.

ELIHU ROOT. [SEAL.]

K. TAKAHIRA. [SEAL.]

[The above treaty with Japan was renewed on August 24, 1913, for five years, and again renewed by treaty ratified October 10, 1918, for five years.]

APPENDIX VI

Japanese Denied Citizenship

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

[November 13, 1922.]

Mr. Justice Sutherland delivered the opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The appellant is a person of the Japanese race born in Japan. He applied, on October 16, 1914, to the United States District Court for the Territory of Hawaii to be admitted as a citizen of the United States. His petition was opposed by the United States District Attorney for the District of Hawaii. Including the period of his residence in Hawaii appellant had continuously resided in the United States for twenty years. He was a graduate of the Berkeley, California, High School, had been nearly three years a student in the University of California, had educated his children in American schools, his family had attended American churches and he had maintained the use of the English language in his home. That he was well qualified by character and education for citizenship is conceded.

The District Court of Hawaii, however, held that, having been born in Japan and being of the Japanese race, he was not eligible to naturalization under Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes, and denied the petition. Thereupon the appellant brought the cause to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit and that court has certified the following questions, upon which it desires to be instructed:

"1. Is the Act of June 29, 1906 (34 Stats. at Large, Part I, Page 596), providing 'for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens' complete in itself, or is it limited by Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States?

"2. Is one who is of Japanese race and born in Japan eligible to citizenship under the Naturalization laws?

"3. If said Act of June 29, 1906, is limited by Section 2169 and naturalization is limited to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent, is one of the Japanese race, born in Japan, under any circumstanes eligible to naturalization"?

These questions for purposes of discussion may be briefly restated:

1. Is the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906, limited by the provisions of Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States?

2. If so limited, is the appellant eligible to naturalization under that section?

First. Section 2169 is found in Title XXX of the Revised Statutes, under the heading "Naturalization," and reads as follows:

"The provisions of this title shall apply to aliens, being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

The Act of June 29, 1906, entitled "An Act to establish a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and to provide for a uniform rule for the naturalization of aliens throughout the United States," consists of thirty-one sections and deals primarily with the subject of procedure. There is nothing in the circumstances leading up to or accompanying the passage of the Act which suggests that any modification of Section 2169, or of its application, was contemplated.

The report of the House Committee on Naturalization and Immigration, recommending its passage, contains this statement:

"It is the opinion of your Committee that the frauds and crimes which have been committed in regard to naturalization have resulted more from a lack of any uniform system of procedure in such matters than from any radical defect in the fundamental principles of existing law governing in such matters. The two changes which the committee has recommended in the principles controlling in naturalization matters and which are embodied in the bill submitted herewith are as follows: First. The requirement that before an alien can be naturalized he must be able to read, either in his own language or in the English language and to speak or understand the English language; and, Second: that

the alien must intend to reside permanently in the United States before he shall be entitled to naturalization."

This seems to make it quite clear that no change of the fundamental character here involved was in mind.

Section 28 of the Act expressly repeals Sections 2165, 2167, 2168, 2173 of Title XXX, the subject matter thereof being covered by new provisions. The sections of Title XXX remaining without repeal are: Section 2166, relating to honorably discharged soldiers; Section 2169, now under consideration; Section 2170, requiring five years' residence prior to admission; Section 2171, forbidding the admission of alien enemies; Section 2172, relating to the status of children of naturalized persons, and Section 2174, making special provision in respect of the naturalization of seamen.

There is nothing in Section 2169 which is repugnant to anything in the Act of 1906. Both may stand and be given effect. It is clear, therefore, that there is no repeal by implication.

But it is insisted by appellant that Section 2169, by its terms is made applicable only to the provisions of Title XXX and that it will not admit of being construed as a restriction upon the Act of 1906. Since Section 2169, it is in effect argued, declares that "the provisions of *this Title* shall apply to aliens being free white persons . . . ," it should be confined to the classes provided for in the unrepealed sections of that Title, leaving the Act of 1906 to govern in respect of all other aliens, without any restriction except such as may be imposed by that Act itself.

It is contended that thus construed the Act of 1906 confers the privilege of naturalization without limitation as to race, since the general introductory words of Section 4 are: "That an alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States in the following manner, and not otherwise." But, obviously, this clause does not relate to the subject of eligibility but to the "manner" that is the procedure, to be followed. Exactly the same words are used to introduce the similar provisions contained in Section 2165 of the Revised Statutes. In 1790 the first Naturalization Act provided that, "Any alien *being a free white person* may be admitted to become a citizen . . . on the following conditions and not otherwise." (2 Stat. 1799-1813, p. 153.) This was subsequently enlarged to include aliens of African nativity and persons

of African descent. These provisions were restated in the Revised Statutes, so that Section 2165 included only the procedural portion, while the substantive parts were carried into a separate section (2169) and the words "An alien" substituted for the words "Any alien."

In all of the Naturalization Acts from 1790 to 1906 the privilege of naturalization was confined to white persons (with the addition in 1870 of those of African nativity and descent), although the exact wording of the various statutes was not always the same. If Congress in 1906 desired to alter a rule so well and so long established it may be assumed that its purpose would have been definitely disclosed and its legislation to that end put in unmistakable terms.

The argument that because Section 2169 is in terms made applicable only to the title in which it is found, it should now be confined to the unrepealed sections of that title is not convincing. The persons entitled to naturalization under these unrepealed sections include only honorably discharged soldiers and seamen who have served three years on board an American vessel, both of whom were entitled from the beginning to admission on more generous terms than were accorded to other aliens. It is not conceivable that Congress would deliberately have allowed the racial limitation to continue as to soldiers and seamen to whom the statute had accorded an especially favored status, and have removed it as to all other aliens. Such a construction can not be adopted unless it be unavoidable.

The division of the Revised Statutes into Titles and Chapters is chiefly a matter of convenience, and reference to a given title or chapter is simply a ready method of identifying the particular provisions which are meant. The provisions of Title XXX affected by the limitation of Section 2169, originally embraced the whole subject of naturalization of aliens. The generality of the words in Section 2165, "An alien may be admitted . . . " was restricted by Section 2169 in common with the other provisions of the title. The words "this title" were used for the purpose of identifying that provision (and others), but it was the *provision* which was restricted. That provision having been amended and carried into the Act of 1906, Section 2169 being left intact and unrepealed, it will require something more persuasive than a narrowly literal reading of the identifying words "this title" to justify the conclusion that Congress intended the restriction to be no longer applicable to the provision.

It is the duty of this Court to give effect to the intent of Congress. Primarily this intent is ascertained by giving the words their natural significance, but if this leads to an unreasonable result plainly at variance with the policy of the legislation as a whole, we must examine the matter further. We may then look to the reason of the enactment and inquire into its antecedent history and give it effect in accordance with its design and purpose, sacrificing, if necessary, the literal meaning in order that the purpose may not fail. See *Church of the Holy Trinity* v. *United States*, 143 U. S. 457; *Heydenfeldt* v. *Daney Gold, etc. Co.*, 93 U. S. 634, 638. We are asked to conclude that Congress, without the consideration or recommendation of any committee, without a suggestion as to the effect, or a word of debate as to the desirability, of so fundamental a change, nevertheless, by failing to alter the identifying words of Section 2169, which section we may assume was continued for some serious purpose, has radically modified a statute always theretofore maintained and considered as of great importance. It is inconceivable that a rule in force from the beginning of the Government, a part of our history as well as our law, welded into the structure of our national policy by a century of legislative and administrative acts and judicial decisions would have been deprived of its force in such dubious and casual fashion. We are, therefore, constrained to hold that the Act of 1906 is limited by the provisions of Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes.

Second. This brings us to inquire whether, under Section 2169, the appellant is eligible to naturalization. The language of the naturalization laws from 1790 to 1870 had been uniformly such as to deny the privilege of naturalization to an alien unless he came within the description "free white person." By Section 7 of the Act of July 14, 1870 (16 Stat. 254, 256), the naturalization laws were "extended to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes, as already pointed out, restricts the privilege to the same classes of persons, viz: "to aliens [being free white persons and to aliens] of African nativity and persons of African descent." It is true that in the first edition of the Revised Statutes of 1873 the words in brackets, "being free white persons and to aliens" were omitted, but this was clearly an error of the compilers and was corrected by the subsequent legislation of 1875 (18 Stat. 316, 318). Is appellant, there-

fore, a "free white person," within the meaning of that phrase as found in the statute?

On behalf of the appellant it is urged that we should give to this phrase the meaning which it had in the minds of its original framers in 1790 and that it was employed by them for the sole purpose of excluding the black or African race and the Indians then inhabiting this country. It may be true that these two races were alone thought of as being excluded, but to say that they were the only ones within the intent of the statute would be to ignore the affirmative form of the legislation. The provision is not that Negroes and Indians shall be *excluded* but it is, in effect, that only free white persons shall be *included*. The intention was to confer the privilege of citizenship upon that class of persons whom the fathers knew as white, and to deny it to all who could not be so classified. It is not enough to say that the framers did not have in mind the brown or yellow races of Asia. It is necessary to go farther and be able to say that had these particular races been suggested the language of the Act would have been so varied as to include them within its privileges. As said by Chief Justice in *Dartmouth College* v. *Woodward*, 4 Wheat. 518, 644, in deciding a question of constitutional construction: "It is not enough to say, that this particular case was not in the mind of the Convention, when the article was framed, nor of the American people, when it was adopted. It is necessary to go farther, and to say that, had this particular case been suggested, the language would have been so varied, as to exclude it, or it would have been made a special exception. The case being within the words of the rule, must be within its operation likewise, unless there be something in the literal construction so obviously absurd, or mischievous, or repugnant to the general spirit of the instrument, as to justify those who expound the constitution in making it an exception." If it be assumed that the opinion of the framers was that the only persons who would fall outside the designation "white" were Negroes and Indians, this would go no farther than to demonstrate their lack of sufficient information to enable them to foresee precisely who would be excluded by that term in the subsequent administration of the statute. It is not important in construing their words to consider the extent of their ethnological knowledge or whether they thought that under the state the only persons who would be denied naturalization would be Negroes and Indians. It is sufficient to

ascertain whom they intended to include and having ascertained that it follows, as a necessary corollary, that all others are to be excluded.

The question then is Who are comprehended within the phrase "free white persons?" Undoubtedly the word "free" was originally used in recognition of the fact that slavery then existed and that some white persons occupied that status. The word, however, has long since ceased to have any practical significance and may now be disregarded.

We have been furnished with elaborate briefs in which the meaning of the words "white person" is discussed with ability and at length, both from the standpoint of judicial decision and from that of the science of Ethnology. It does not seem to us necessary, however, to follow counsel in their extensive researches in these fields. It is sufficient to note the fact that these decisions are, in substance, to the effect that the words import a racial and not an individual test, and with this conclusion, fortified as it is by reason and authority, we entirely agree. Manifestly the test afforded by the mere color of the skin of each individual is impracticable as that differs greatly among persons of the same race, even among Anglo-Saxons, ranging by imperceptible gradations from the fair blond to the swarthy brunette, the latter being darker than many of the lighter hued persons of the brown or yellow races. Hence to adopt the color test alone would result in a confused overlapping of races and a gradual merging of one into the other, without any practical line of separation. Beginning with the decision of Circuit Judge Sawyer, in *In re Ah Yup*, 5 Sawy. 155 (1878), the federal and state courts, in an almost unbroken line, have held that the words "white person" were meant to indicate only a person of what is popularly known as the Caucasian race. Among these decisions, see for example: *In re Camille*, 6 Fed. Rep. 256.; *In re Saito*, 62 Fed. Rep. 126; *In re Nian*, 21 Pac. (Utah) 993; *In re Kumagai*, 163 Fed. 922; *In re Yamashita* 30 Wash. 234, 237; *In re Ellis*, 179 Fed. Rep. 1002; *In re Mozumdar*, 207 Fed. Rep. 115, 117; *In re Singh*, 257 Fed. Rep. 209, 211-212, and *In re Charr*, 273 Fed. Rep. 207. With the conclusion reached in these several decisions we see no reason to differ. Moreover, that conclusion has become so well established by judicial and executive concurrence and legislative acquiescence that we should not at this late day feel at liberty to disturb it, in the absence of reasons far more cogent than any that have been suggested. *United States* v. *Mid-West Oil Company*. 236 U. S. 459, 472.

The determination that the words "white person" are synonymous with the words "a person of the Caucasion race" simplifies the problem, although it does not entirely dispose of it. Controversies have arisen and will no doubt arise again in respect of the proper classification of individuals in border line cases. The effect of the conclusion that the words "white person" mean a Caucasian is not to establish a sharp line of demarcation between those who are entitled and those who are not entitled to naturalization, but rather a zone of more or less debatable ground outside of which, upon the one hand, are those clearly eligible, and outside of which, upon the other hand, are those clearly ineligible for citizenship. Individual cases falling within this zone must be determined as they arise from time to time by what this Court has called, in another connection (*Davidson* v. *New Orleans*, 96 U. S. 97, 104) "the gradual process of judicial inclusion and exclusion."

The appellant, in the case now under consideration, however, is clearly of a race which is not Caucasian and therefore belongs entirely outside the zone on the negative side. A large number of the federal and state courts have so decided and we find no reported case definitely to the contrary. These decisions are sustained by numerous scientific authorities, which we do not deem it necessary to review. We think these decisions are right and so hold.

The briefs filed on behalf of appellant refer in complimentary terms to the culture and enlightenment of the Japanese people, and with this estimate we have no reason to disagree; but these are matters which cannot enter into our consideration of the questions here at issue. We have no function in the matter other than to ascertain the will of Congress and declare it. Of course there is not implied—either in the legislation or in our interpretation of it—any suggestion of individual unworthiness or racial inferiority. These considerations are in no manner involved.

The questions submitted are, therefore, answered as follows:

Question No. 1. The Act of June 29, 1906, is not complete in itself but is limited by Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

APPENDIX VII

Press Comment on the Japanese Question of Citizenship

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT decided that Japanese can not be naturalized in the United States and can not become citizens of this country. The reason, set forth in two opinions handed down by Justice Sutherland, is that Japanese people are not of the "white" or Caucasian race, and therefore are not entitled to citizenship. The new ruling, it is said, will affect not only Japanese aliens in this country, but also all Japanese who by reason of Army or Navy service with American forces during the World War were granted citizenship papers. "This is indeed a staggering blow," admits the Japanese editor of the Salt Lake City *Rocky Mountain Times*, one of the score or more Nipponese papers published in this country which were asked by The Digest to send in their opinion of the Supreme Court ruling by telegraph.

In the Supreme Court opinion, Mr. Justice Sutherland was careful to point out, "there is not implied any suggestion of individual unworthiness or racial inferiority. These considerations are in no manner involved." Continued the Justice in this, his first opinion delivered from the Supreme bench:

> "In all of the naturalization acts from 1790 to 1906, the privilege of naturalization was confined to white persons (with the addition in 1870 of those of African nativity and descent), although the exact wording of the various statutes was not always the same. The Federal and State courts, in an almost unbroken line, have held that the words 'white person' were meant to indicate only a person of what is popularly known as the Caucasian race. With the conclusion reached in these several decisions we see no reason to differ.
>
> "It is urged that we should give to this phrase ('free white persons') the meaning which it had in the minds of its original framers in 1790, and that it was employed by them for the sole purpose of excluding the black or African race and the Indians then inhabiting this country. It may be true that these two races were alone thought of as being excluded, but to say that they were the only ones within the intent of the statute would be to

> ignore the affirmative form of the legislation. The provision is not that negroes and Indians shall be excluded, but it is, in effect, that only free white persons shall be included. The intention was to confer the privilege of citizenship upon that class of persons whom the fathers knew as white, and to deny it to all who could not be so classified."

While the Japanese press in the United States can not be said to be of one opinion regarding the Supreme Court ruling, there is no hint of resentment such as *The Herald* suggests. In fact, the Japanese Los Angeles *Daily News* says it is "glad that the question which has been annoying the Japanese for eight years has been solved, though against us." Japan, this paper reminds us, "extends the naturalization privilege to all the nations on the equal basis, and therefore it is nothing but proper to say that the same privilege ought to be allowed to the Japanese in this country, if they swear loyalty to this country." Continues this Japanese daily translating its editorial into our language:

> "We have a long history and brilliant civilization that comes second to none. We have an ideal and ambition to contribute to the the world the Oriental Civilization, without which the world is one-sided. It is to this country that we regret. America stands for the melting-pot of the world. How can we come to better understanding without being given the equal opportunity and fair treatment? If America wish true and sincere friendship, she ought to amend the present naturalization law."

This is likewise the plea of the Japanese *Great Northern Daily News*, of Seattle, which reminds us that President Roosevelt once proposed in a message to Congress that Japanese be naturalized. Still another Seattle paper, the Japanese *North American Times*, which tranlsates its editorial in reply to our telegram, and expresses the opinion that, "if you quote it in your paper, that would be quite a piece of luck for us," says:

> "It would (it seems to us) be natural and right to decide that the Japanese, who are not pure Mongolians and who are one of civilized nations, can naturalize in the country."

The Rocky Mountain Times, of Salt Lake City, another Japanese publication, also regrets the Supreme Court decision, for—

> "We are compelled by that very decision to remain a separate and distinct community and race amidst American society, unable to cooperate efficiently with others. However, we must bear in mind the fact that the

> verdict handed down by Justice Sutherland did not shut the gate of citizenship by way of cultural qualifications. Herein lies our hope."

We find, however, lined up behind the Supreme Court, and therefore arrayed against the naturalization of Japanese, dozens of America's representative newspapers. The case against the "little brown men" is thus put by the St. Louis *Star*. "The law which prevents the naturalization of Japanese is plainly intended to exclude the Japanese because they are racially unassimilable and their presence creates economic difficulties." And "neither the Tokio Government nor intelligent Japanese opinion can find anything to resent in the Supreme Court ruling," thinks the Chicago *Daily News*. In fact, adds the Columbus (Ohio) *Dispatch*, "the Japanese Government could hardly have been unprepared for such a decision," and these opinions are echoed by the Pittsburgh *Sun*, Cleveland *News*, Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Detroit *News*, Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, Philadelphia *Bulletin*, and Newark *News*. Says the Newark paper:

> "Japan has no cause to feel aggrieved over this decision. The United States has a right, as has Japan, to decide for herself the qualifications for citizenship. On international questions affecting both nations, we have admitted Japan's greatness and her right to be consulted. On internal affairs we hold, and hold properly, that no one has the right to interfere with our decisions."

"An American can not become a naturalized subject of the Emperor of Japan," points out the Wichita *Eagle*, and the Kansas City *Journal* further informs us that—

> "Even if the United States did consent to naturalize Japanese, its action would not be recognized by the Japanese Government, which insists rigidly that every Japanese, no matter where his parents were born, and no matter what country might have conferred citizenship upon him, is a Japanese citizen and must perform his duties as such."

When such hostile comment is found through the East, the Central West, and the South, we may expect still more scathing editorials from the Pacific Coast, where the Japanese are held to be a problem. First of all, Coast editors hail the Supreme Court opinion because it has "cleared a clouded situation," as the Oakland *Tribune* puts it. "The decision protects California against an alien and unassimilable race

with which the white race has no quarrel," maintains the Sacramento *Bee*. But in *The Bee's* opinion—

> "California will not be safely protected until an amendment to the Federal Constitution is adopted which would confine citizenship by right of birth in this country to those whose parents were themselves eligible to citizenship."

"Meanwhile," notes the San Francisco *Bulletin*, "it is something gained in the fight against the Japanese invasion to have gained the point that those who come here can not own land." "Much as we may

CROWDING THE CRADLE.
—Chapin in the San Francisco *Examiner*.

admire the intelligence and enterprise of the Nipponese, we must admit that they are of a different race, and during the entire history of the world it has been demonstrated that efforts to amalgamate races have resulted unfavorably," says the New York *Commercial*. Besides, there is the economic aspect, as set forth in an article in the Spokane *Press*. The Japanese, we are told by the Spokane *Press*, works longer hours and lives more simply than the white man, and also presses his wife and children into service in the fields, so that it is impossible for the white man to compete with him.

That the anti-Japanese feeling which blazes forth occasionally in Pacific Coast states "has crossed the Rockies and is reflected as far east as Kansas and Oklahoma and as far south as Texas" is the contention of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*. In *The Ledger's* opinion—

> "This feeling is founded in great part in a dread of the competition of the brown and yellow man in trade and industry. It is, however, much deeper than that. It is an instinct toward racial self-defense and a determination that so far as possible America must be maintained as a 'white man's country.' Other white peoples exposed to Asiatic immigration feel the same way about it, as witness British Columbia, the Union of South Africa and the Commonwealth of Australia."

—*Literary Digest*, N. Y., Dec. 2, 1922.

APPENDIX VIII

Biology in its Oriental Aspect

(From the *New York Times*)

WHAT if the "question of race pride" which is embittering Americans and Japanese in California were not a question of race pride at all? What if the difficulty could be successfully dealt with by science? Two great peoples, whose intelligent citizens have a profound admiration and respect for each other, and for whom continued peace is an essential of progress, are drifting into hostile mood, in spite of all their political leaders can say or do. What if the task of reconciliation, in which statesmen have failed, could be solved by the biologist?

As to the laws of "inbreeding" and "outbreeding," Darwin's observations have possibly been surpassed by those of Mendel and de Vries; but he left little to be added on the subject of mongrelization.

Commenting on "the degraded state and savage disposition of cross races of men," in his "Animals and Plants Under Domestication," Darwin says: "Many years before I had thought of the present subject I was struck with the fact that in South America men of complicated descent between negroes, Indians and Spaniards seldom had, whatever the cause might be, a good expression." The cause, he now finds, is that when widely divergent stocks are crossed there is a strong tendency to revert. The higher and more recently evolved characteristics vanish and the primitive traits, not only physical but mental and moral, come to the surface. The facts of the case are abundantly confirmed. Humboldt, whose heart was nobly above race prejudice, condemns the savage nature of the Zambo, or cross between Indian and negro. Livingstone, an unimpeachable observer, speaks similarly of the cross between Portuguese and negro, quoting a pithy African saying: "God made the white man and God made the negro, but the devil made the half caste." In South America the mixture is widespread and of long standing. Agassiz wrote: "Let any one who doubts the evil of this mixture of races, and is inclined from mistaken philanthropy to break down all

barriers between them, come to Brazil. . . . The amalgamation of races is rapidly effacing the best qualities of the white man, the negro and the Indian, leaving a mongrel, nondescript type, deficient in physical and mental energy." Precisely similar observations, abundantly detailed, are made by a South American publicist, Garcia-Calderon, who attributes the instability of Latin-American republics to the mongrelization of the people—instability of character being one of the most prominent effects of racial crossing.

With this biologic effect there is also a social and moral effect perhaps equally important. When the standards and manners of mother and father are widely different, neither tradition can be strongly impressed upon the children. To the warring biologic inheritance is added a moral conflict which likewise tends to give scope to the baser impulses.

The biologic evil is manifest even in the domain of economics and politics. As Lafcadio Hearn expressed it, the Asiatic "is always able to underlive the white man." His thrift is greater and his standard of living is lower. As the Japanese is able to "underlive" the American, so the Korean and the Chinese are able to "underlive" the Japanese—and once made the attempt to do so. The question of miscegenation was relatively unimportant, the racial stocks being kindred, yet the Japanese passed precisely the same kind of laws to which they now object in California.

So long as the biologic problem is avoided the races have only to gain by intercourse. The Japanese acknowledge debts to us—priviledges in education and examples in material organization. As regards the fine arts and the art of living, our debt to them is as great or greater. But these priceless exchanges are endangered if we persist in regarding as a question of race pride what in reality is a matter of biology.

APPENDIX IX

Herbert Spencer's Advice to Japan

BIOLOGICAL OBJECTIONS TO MIXED MARRIAGES

FAIRFIELD, PEWSEY, WILTS,
Aug. 26, 1892.

MY DEAR SIR: Your proposal to send translations of my two letters to Count Ito, the newly-appointed Prime Minister, is quite satisfactory. I very willingly give my assent.

Respecting the further questions you ask, let me, in the first place, answer generally that the Japanese policy should, I think, be that of *keeping Americans and Europeans as much as possible at arm's length.* In presence of the more powerful races your position is one of chronic danger, and you should take every precaution to give as little foothold as possible to foreigners.

It seems to me that the only forms of intercourse which you may with advantage permit are those which are indispensable for the exchange of commodities—importation and exportation of physical and mental products. No further privileges should be allowed to people of other races, and especially to people of the more powerful races, than is absolutely needful for the achievement of these ends. Apparently you are proposing by revision of the treaty with the Powers of Europe and America "to open the whole Empire to foreigners and foreign capital." I regret this as a fatal policy. If you wish to see what is likely to happen, study the history of India. Once let one of the more powerful races gain a *point d' appui* and there will inevitably in course of time grow up an aggressive policy which will lead to collisions with the Japanese; these collisions will be represented as attacks by the Japanese which must be avenged, as the case may be; a portion of territory will be seized and required to be made over as a foreign settlement; and from this there will grow eventually subjugation of the entire Japanese Empire. I believe that you will have great difficulty in avoiding this fate in any

case, but you will make the process easy if you allow of any privileges to foreigners beyond those which I have indicated.

In pursuance of the advice thus generally indicated, I should say, in answer to your first question, that there should be, not only a prohibition of foreign persons to hold property in land, but also a refusal to give them leases, and a permission only to reside as annual tenants.

To the second question I should say decidedly prohibit to foreigners the working of the mines owned or worked by Government. Here there would be obviously liable to arise grounds of difference between the Europeans or Americans who worked them and the Government, and these grounds of quarrel would be followed by invocations to the English or American Governments or other Powers to send forces to insist on whatever the European workers claimed, *for always the habit here and elsewhere among the civilized peoples is to believe what their agents or sellers abroad represent to them.*

In the third place, in pursuance of the policy I have indicated, you ought also to keep the coasting trade in your own hands and forbid foreigners to engage in it. This coasting trade is clearly not included in the requirement I have indicated as the sole one to be recognized—a requirement to facilitate exportation and importation of commodities. The distribution of commodities brought to Japan from other places may be properly left to the Japanese themselves, and should be denied to foreigners, for the reason that again the various transactions involved would become so many doors open to quarrels and resulting aggressions.

To your remaining question respecting the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese, which you say is "now very much agitated among our scholars and politicians" and which you say is "one of the most difficult problems," my reply is that, as rationally answered, there is no difficulty at all. It should be positively forbidden. It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriages of human races and by the interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result is inevitably a bad one* in the long run. I have myself been in the habit of looking at the evidence bearing on this matter for many years past, and my conviction is based on numerous facts derived from numerous sources. This conviction I have within the last half-hour verified, for I happen to be staying in the country with a gentleman who is well known and has had much experience respecting

the interbreeding of cattle; and he has just, on inquiry, fully confirmed my belief that when, say of the different varieties of sheep, there is an interbreeding of those which are widely unlike, the result, especially in the second generation, is a bad one—there arise an incalculable mixture of traits, and what may be called a chaotic constitution. And the same thing happens among human beings—the Eurasians in India, the half-breeds in America, show this. The physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in course of many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaptation to its particular form of life, and every other variety similarly acquires its own special adaptation. The consequence is that, if you mix the constitution of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a constitution which is adapted to the mode of life of neither—a constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatever. By all means, therefore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.

I have for the reasons indicated entirely approved of the regulations which have been established in America for restraining the Chinese immigration, and had I the power I would restrict them to the smallest amount, my reason for this decision being that one of two things must happen. If the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively in America, they must either, if they remain unmixed, form a subject race standing in the position, if not of slaves, yet of a class approaching to slaves; or if they mix they must form a bad hybrid. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise, and eventually social disorganization. The same thing will happen if there should be any considerable mixture of European or American races with the Japanese.

You see, therefore, that my advice is strongly conservative in all directions, and I end by saying as I began—*keep other races at arm's length as much as possible.*

I give this advice in confidence. I wish that it should not transpire publicly, at any rate during my life, for I do not desire to rouse the animosity of my fellow-countrymen. I am sincerely yours,

HERBERT SPENCER.

P.S.—Of course, when I say I wish this advice to be in confidence, I do not interdict the communication of it to Count Ito, but rather wish that he should have the opportunity of taking it into consideration.

APPENDIX X

White and Japanese Birth Rate in California

California has a Japanese population of upwards of 110,000, of which nearly one-half are native born. All native born persons are, under the Federal Constitution, citizens, and as citizens can acquire and hold land. The startling birth rate of Japanese nullifies the land laws and exposes California, in spite of her protective measures, to the crowding out of her white population and the surrender of the state to the menace of an unassimilable colonization. The remedy is to amend the Federal Constitution and make it retroactive, so no alien unassimilables shall by reason of birth be citizens, but only as may be provided by Congress from time to time, or not at all. The following are the latest birth statistics of the California State Board of Health, 1922:

California State Board of Health,
Sacramento, California,
December 14, 1922.

Senator James D. Phelan,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Sir:—

Complying with your request of this date, I attach hereto figures showing the number of births, the birth rate per thousand inhabitants and the excess of births over deaths for the Japanese and white races in California from 1911 to 1921. I have also added the figures for 1922 from January to September, inclusive, covering the number of certificates thus far received by us.

In connection with the birth rates, those shown on the attached sheet are based upon total population. Perhaps a better way to consider birth rates is on the basis of the number of married women of child bearing age in the population. These rates have been computed for 1920 and 1921, and are as follows:

Births Per 1,000 Married Women of Child Bearing Age

	1920	1921
Japanese	338.2	344.1
White	122.2	127.2

Very truly yours,

(Signed) L. E. Ross,
State Registrar of Vital Statistics.

JAPANESE

Year	Births	Birth Rate	Excess of births over deaths
1911	995	22.0	523
1912	1,467	30.3	943
1913	2,215	43.0	1,602
1914	2,874	52.6	2,246
1915	3,342	57.9	2,679
1916	3,721	61.1	2,982
1917	4,108	64.1	3,198
1918	4,218	62.7	2,673
1919	4,458	63.3	3,345
1920	4,971	67.6	3,969
1921	5,275	68.8	4,379
Jan. to Sept., 1922	3,862	64.6*	3,102

*Annual rate.

WHITE

Year	Births	Birth Rate	Excess of births over deaths
1911	33,245	13.9	1,045
1912	37,194	14.9	2,462
1913	40,864	15.8	4,363
1914	42,281	15.7	6,768
1915	43,874	15.7	6,984
1916	46,272	15.9	8,681
1917	47,313	15.7	7,745

1918	50,986	16.4	—3,038
1919	51,316	16.0	8,096
1920	61,078	18.4	16,671
1921	65,583	19.2	20,885
Jan. to Sept., 1922	49,924	18.9*	12,768

*Annual rate.

Figures for 1922 incomplete.

(Signed) L. E. Ross,
State Registrar.

CROPS RAISED BY JAPANESE AND THEIR ACREAGE

Product	Total acreage of Cultivation	Acreage by Japanese	Percentage of Jap. Cul. against total Cultivation
Berries	6,500	5,968	91.8
Celery	4,000	3,568	89.2
Asparagus	12,000	9,927	82.7
Seeds	20,000	15,847	79.2
Onions	12,112	9,251	76.3
Tomatoes	16,000	10,616	66.3
Cantaloupes	15,000	9,581	63.8
Sugar Beets	102,949	51,604	50.1
Green Vegetables	75,000	17,852	23.8
Potatoes	90,175	18,830	20.8
Hops	8,000	1,260	15.7
Grapes	360,000	47,439	13.1
Beans	592,000	77,107	13.0
Rice	106,220	16,640	10.0
Cotton	179,860	18,000	10.0
Corn	85,000	7,845	9.2
Fruits, Nuts	715,000	29,210	4.0
Hay, Grain	2,200,000	15,753	0.0

Reported by the Japanese Agricultural Association of California, 1919.

From *Japan and the California Problem*, by T. Iyenaga and Kenoske Sato.

APPENDIX XI

Financial Status of Germany

Statement by Mr. Lloyd M. Robbins of the United States Delegation Reparations Commission, December 10, 1922.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES did not fix the amount of reparation Germany should pay to the Allied Powers, as many have mistakenly believed.

The Treaty of Versailles, instead, set up the "Reparations Commission" and empowered this commission to fix the total German liability and also to fix the amount from time to time to be paid by Germany, according to Germany's capacity to pay.

In 1921 the Reparations Commission fixed the total German liability at 132 milliard gold marks, an approximate equivalent of $31,000,000,000, and also required Germany to pay for the cost of the army of occupation.

Germany was required to pay this in three series of bonds, an annual payment, covering sinking fund and interest, of approximately $440,000,000 plus 26 per cent of the value of her exports.

The 26 per cent could be exacted by import duty on goods coming from Germany, and it was provided that the allied countries receiving such import revenue must credit Germany with the amount received.

The annual sum of $440,000,000 was to be paid by Germany in quarterly installments, and two installments were to be paid in 1921.

Germany discharged her obligations in 1921, that is, she paid the sum of $220,000,000 and also 26 per cent on the value of her exports.

Toward the end of 1921 there was a tremendous drop in the value of the German mark, which led to a meeting at London between M. Briand, Prime Minister of France, and Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England.

As a result of this meeting, known as the "London Conference," recommendation was made that the amount of reparations for Germany to pay during 1922 be modified.

This recommendation was put before a conference of the allied representatives at Cannes, France, in 1922.

In the midst of this conference the French government then in power came to an end and M. Briand ceased to hold office.

At this time the Reparations Commission was assembled at Cannes and on March 21, 1922, at a meeting between the allied finance ministers, there was imposed on Germany a modified obligation for 1922 payment.

Under this modified arrangement Germany was required to pay instead of $440,000,000 in cash and 26 per cent of value of her exports as follows: Approximately $160,000,000 in cash and $322,000,000 in kind.

Germany was also told to increase her taxes.

She also was required to stop subsidizing bread, which resulted in industrials getting labor at a cheaper rate.

She was told to stop operating her railroads at a deficit, which resulted in goods being carried at less than a proper rate.

She was further told to stop operating her postoffice at a loss.

Also she was told to allow the Reisch Bank to operate free of government control, which too greatly facilitated the manipulation of paper money.

In September last it took 7,500 marks to make an American dollar.

Germany's liability for reparations has made it impossible for her to obtain a loan, for the security for a loan would be a sort of second mortgage on the security for her reparations.

Germany has brought about her own present financial and economic difficulties, because during the war she met her expenses, not by taxation, but by borrowing. When the war ended her system of taxation was inadequate, and her post-war government has not been strong enough to correct this. She made no attempt to balance her budgets. Her deficits were met by printing notes. As the mark decreased in value, salaries and wages increased. As the latter increased more notes had to be printed, and thus a vicious circle was kept up, and is still continuing, in a measure, although improvement is noted.

CORRECTIONS

Dates on which letters were written as follows:

Read on page 16, 1921 for 1922; on page 93, read November 20, 1921 for March 5, 1922; on page 106, read December 1, 1921 for March 12, 1922; on page 118, read December 26, 1921 for March 19, 1922; and facing page 48, read 1921 for 1922.

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